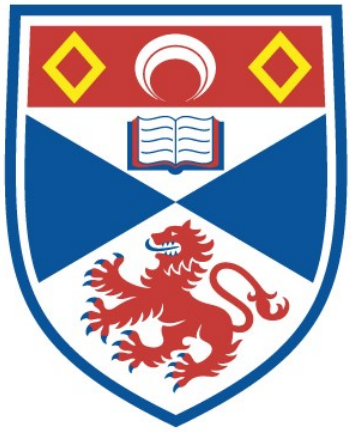
THE PENITENTIAL PSALMS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND : BODIES AND TEXTS

Katherine Cooper Wyma

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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by

Katherine Cooper Wyma

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ABSTRACT

At the center of this thesis are seven psalms, commonly known as the Penitential Psalms. The Penitential Psalms were often used in connection to corporeal expressions of the sacrament, and though sacramental practices changed, they retained this association, and even became a catalyst for literary change and experimentation. In this thesis, I will show how these psalms were connected to the sacrament of penance throughout the medieval period, and well into the religiously tumultuous sixteenth century.

This thesis explores four texts that take up the Penitential Psalms, adapting, refashioning, and reappropriating them to be used in different ways. The Introduction outlines the history of the Penitential Psalms and their interconnectedness with sacramental theology and practice; it further establishes the cultural and theoretical context within which the four examined texts must be considered. These sacramental ties with the Penitential Psalms are not found only in theological writings, but they also infused lay practice and experience, as I will show in Chapter One, where I examine the staunchly Protestant *Actes and Monuments* by John Foxe. Additionally, I argue that Foxe's accounts of Marian martyrs point to Psalm 51 both as a text of protest and memorialization. Chapter Two then moves to Sir Thomas Wyatt's *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms*; there I examine the presence of the male body within the work, placing the text within the setting of a visual history that illustrates David's illicit desire for Bathsheba. With this tradition in mind, I examine trajectories of ocularity within the narrative, tracing the redirection of sexual desire. Anne Lock's *Meditation of a Pentient Sinner* is the center of Chapter Three. *Meditation*, when considered in relation to the dedicatory epistle, reveals connections to the standardized

penitential process, and I argue that Lock presents a modified form of repentance to her reader. The final chapter looks at The Sidney Psalter's Penitential Psalms, which reveal an incoherent view of the penitential body merging with the body of the dead war-hero, Philip. It is within this penitential affect that the penitent displays and partitions his or her own body slipping into an otherness predicated by sin.

I, Katherine Cooper Wyma hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2008 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in English Literature in May 2009; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2008 and 2012.

I, Katherine Cooper Wyma, received no assistance in the writing of this thesis.

1 February 2013

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in English Literature in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date Signature of supervisor

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was written in a grey town on the North Sea. At times I felt the surge of inspiration and at other times I could see nothing but vast expanses of abandoned shore. Here, finally, are my gathered words, which I hope may prove more substantial than a child's castle of sand. For this completed project, I owe thanks to many, not least my parents, who first taught me the joy of reading. My thesis supervisor, Dr. Alex Davis, has been a source of constant encouragement, inspiration, and wisdom. His help and advice are a large reason why this thesis exists, and I can't say thank you enough for his indespensible advice. To Dr. Charles Huttar who first suggested Anne Lock's work to me, I owe many thanks. Dr. Susan Felch was also instrumental in her advice at the start of this exploration. Dr. Lorna Hutson was also a valuable resource in the planning of this thesis. The postgraduate community at 66 North St. offered a constant refuge from scholarly angst and research ennui.

To my grandmothers, who both died whilst I was in Scotland, I say thank you for teaching me the joys of cooking, which helped me to stay sane when I had spent too many hours in my head.

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Thank you my Jonathan. The words "soul mate" and "best friend" are used too often, but when used to describe you, they are true. Though you came along in the last stretch, without you, this thesis would not be the same. You have read every word of this thesis and have been my constant cheerleader, coach, and sideman. I know our life together will produce many more words. I love you.

And one final thanks, to Frank Warren and the Post Secret project, which is what got me thinking about the need to speak secret sins.

all shall be well

A Note on the Text

In line with contemporary scholarly practice, I have modernized spelling in the following cases only: *i/j, v/u* and the long s. I have silently expanded contractions, except in the case of names in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. I have retained Foxe's name abbreviations in order to present the text in a more authentic way.

ABBREVIATIONS

LW Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann. 55 vols. St Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House and Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1958-1986.

TRP *Tudor Royal Proclamations*. Edited by P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin. 3 vols. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964, 1969.

DNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. http://www. oxforddnb.com

ELR *English Literary Renaissance*.

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INTRODUCTION

THE PSALMS AT THE INTERSECTION OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE

On a late November day in 1530, several men were forced to process through the crowded streets of London. These men were being taken to the busy market area of Cheapside where they would be punished and publically ridiculed for violating one of King Henry's laws. The 1583 edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* records a short account of "one Thomas Sommers imprisoned for the Gospell" who was included in this group of offenders. Foxe's marginalia labels the section as the "the penaunce of Th. Sommers, Marchaunt."

> Tho. being a very honest Marchant and wealthy, was sent for by the Lord Cardinall and committed to the Tower . . . his judgement was that he should ride from the tower into Cheapeside carying a new booke in his hand and be hanged with bookes round about him. . . . And when M. Sommers should be set on a colliars nagg as the rest of his felow prisoners were . . . the Bishops Officers came to dresse him with bookes, as they had trimmed the other, and would have made holes in his garment to have thrust the stringes of the books therein, nay sayd Sōmers, I have alwayes loved to go hansomely in my apparell, and taking the bookes and opening them, he bound them together by the stringes and cast them about his necke (the leaves being al open) like a coller, and being on horse backe, rode formost thorow the streetes, till they came about the standard in Cheapeside, where a great fire was made to burne their bookes in, and a Pillary set up there. . . . At length when they came to the fire, every of them having a booke in his hand, they were commaunded to caste their

> bookes into the fire. But when M. Sommers saw that his new Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire: which was seene by some of Gods enemies, and brought to him agayne, commaunding him to cast it into the fire: which he would not do, but cast it thorow the fire. Which thing was done iii. times. But at last a stander by tooke it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, the sayd M. Sommers was cast agayne into the Tower.[1]

Foxe's extraordinary account presents us with a scene of the destruction of bodies and texts. This is one of the few incidents in Foxe where the bodies of the accused are not thrown into the fire with their books. Nevertheless, the threat of destruction to the body lurks in the background. Though Sommers would later die in the Tower, he knew he was just as vulnerable to being committed to the fire; people had already been burned for heresy in England. In this and other accounts, Foxe persistently links the written word with the bodies of true believers—readers who are burned because they were reading dangerous texts. Sommers' attempts to save the Bible from the fire, even at the cost of his own life, only underlines this subtle equivalence between books and bodies. The fire in Cheapside would have spewed the smell of burnt animal skin and pieces of charred parchment into the air as a vivid warning to those who might be interested in reading these books. Cheapside, with its busy commerce and open spaces, was the perfect location for this public display and rejection of books seen to be corrupting the English readership.[2] The prohibition, a royal statute issued by Henry VIII against "heresy," warned that to give any kind of "favor or

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[1] John Foxe, *Ecclesiasticall History Contaynyng the Actes & Monuments* (London: John Day, 1583), NNii[v].

[2] For a description of early modern Cheapside, see Vanessa Harding, "Commerce and Commemoration," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71 (March 2008): 77-96.

support" to those who published, taught, or even discussed the ideas held within the books was to risk imprisonment and punishment.[3] These "heretical and blasphemous books" made by "malicious and wicked sects of heretics" were sure to harm the English people, or so the prohibition claimed.[4] The statute specified texts written by continental reformers along with English translations of the Bible.[5] Among the books listed were William Tyndale's commentaries on Genesis and Deuteronomy as well as his more controversial *Practice of Prelates*.[6] Also listed is a text, no longer in existence, titled *Matins and Evening Songs, vii Psalms and Other Heavenly Psalms, with The Combination in English.*[7] *Matins and Evening Songs, vii Psalms*, likely included an English translation of the seven Penitential Psalms.[8] The Cheapside book burning took place before the first legalized printed version of the English Bible, declaring these books containing sections of scripture "heretical and blasphemous," filled with "pestiferous,

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[3] Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds. "Enforcing Statues against Heresy; Prohibiting Unlicensed Preaching, Heretical Books." *The Early Tudors (1485-1553)* vol. 1 of *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964), 1:183.

[4] *TRP*, 1:183.

[5] Hughes and Larkin date this prohibition to 6 March 1529. However, G.R. Elton has argued based on John Foxe's date of 1530 and the composition date of the *Practice of Prelates* that it must be 1530. *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 218 n5.

[6] *TRP,* 1:185-86.

[7] *TRP* footnotes this title as STC (1st ed.) 15,989 which is Miles Coverdale's *A Goodly Prymer in Englyshe* (London: John Byddell, n.d.). However, as it is well accepted that *A Goodly Prymer* was published around 1535, this attribution is impossible. George Joye's *The Psalter of David* may be a possibility, but the listed title seems to emphasise that the text is a selection of Psalms. After checking both the Short Title Catalogue and the Universal Title Catalogue, I can find no record of a text that would fit this description, and it seems safe to assume that this text has been lost. George Joye's *The Psalter of David in Englishe purely and faithfully translated* (Antwerp: Martin de Keyser, 1530).

[8] The Penitential Psalms are the only seven psalms that are consistently grouped together throughout Christian tradition. And, as discussed later in this thesis, they would continue to be grouped together in prayer books even after the break with Rome. It seems highly likely, therefore, that the “vii Psalms” mentioned in the title can only refer to the Penitential Psalms.

cursed, and seditious errors."[9] This translation of the Penitential Psalms was considered just as dangerous as the text propounding Tyndale's view of contemporary monarchies and ecclesiastical rulers as tools of the antichrist. This equivalence underlines some of the early modern fear of (and fascination with) vernacular scripture.

Thomas Sommers and his fellow martyrs may, then, have been doing "penaunce," as Foxe puts it, for their interest in, among other things, the Penitential Psalms. This leads us to the paradoxical status of the Penitential Psalms in the sixteenth century. They are consistently linked to a body of religious practice that reformers rejected (hence Foxe's ironic use of the word), and yet these psalms were adapted as reformed reading, and were burned as such whilst remaining a part of a shared religious inheritance. This shared devotional culture is perhaps what led to the contradictory treatment of vernacular psalmic production in the early sixteenth century. A mere five years after the burning of these books, Henry VIII would change his views on vernacular scripture and would license, promote, and even allow himself to be featured on the title page of Miles Coverdale's English translation of the Bible.[10] And yet, in 1535, the same year that this authorized Bible was published, Coverdale's English version of a metrical Psalter was suppressed and burned.[11] Vernacular versions of the scripture were considered dangerous unless they were controlled. Governmental and ecclesiastical authorities would vacillate

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[9] *TRP*, 1:122.

[10] *The Byble; that is the Holy Scrypture of the Olde and New Testament, faythfully translated in to Englyshe* (Cologne: E. Cervicornus, 1535). For more information on King Henry's appearance on the title page of Coverdale's Bible, see David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 174-76.

[11] Miles Coverdale, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes Drawen out of the Holy Scripture* (Southwark: Johan Gough, 1535?). Coverdale's publication date is uncertain, but it was prohibited in 1535, leading scholars to believe it was published the same year.

between approval and prohibition of versions of the psalms throughout the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the psalms would continue to be one of the most popular literary texts of the time.

Matins and Evening Songs, vii Psalms was merely one version in an ever-increasing list of psalmic texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This explosion of psalm printing and writing was partly due to the standardized inclusion of the psalms, particularly the Penitential Psalms, in devotional Books of Hours produced throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[12] Different editions of *Horae*, as they were known by their Latin name, were mass-produced in Europe with an estimated "57,000 of these books in circulation in the two generations before the Reformation."[13] The psalms were present at the genesis of the art of printing: the earliest datable printed book is a Latin Psalter made in Mainz in 1457.[14] Reformers had an interest in the psalms. Martin Luther's first published work was a German translation and exposition of the Penitential Psalms.[15] In 1549, just two decades after Henry's 1530 prohibition, a metrical Psalter was published that would become one of the best selling and most widely read English texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[16] The Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter, as it would come to be known, went through over four hundred separate editions in the first century after its creation, and its influence would make its way into the Church of England's liturgy for centuries

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[12] For the standard inclusions in *Horae* see, Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 25-8.
[13] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 211-12.
[14] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 73.
[15] E. Theodore Bachmann, ed. "Introduction" in *Word and Sacrament I,* vol. 35 of *LW* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1960), 205.
[16] Thomas Sternhold, *Certayne Psalmes Chosen out of the Psalter of David* (London: Edward Whitchurche, 1549?).

to come.[17] Rikvah Zim lists 86 different English editions of psalmic paraphrases and translations published between 1530 and 1601. Long as it is, this list excludes versions that were published in complete copies of the Bible or in primers.[18] By 1580, the psalms were so common that the preface to an English translation of Theodore de Bèze's paraphrases complained that, "the Psalms in English are in many places read rather for taske as it were, & for fashion sake, then for good devotion and with understanding."[19] As the century drew to a close, the Penitential Psalms had so permeated English cultural circles that the reader of de Bèze's work had to be reminded that even though the psalms were popular, they should still be approached as a devotional text.

Susan Gilligham and Robert Kellerman have argued that the sixteenth century's interest in psalmic texts was related to a late medieval shift in sacramental theology emphasizing the sinner's psychological state during confession and the appropriate external evidences of proper contrition for sins.[20] However, even though the psalms were often at the heart of Catholic liturgy, it seems that the more vocal critics of the Catholic Church became, the more interest in the psalms increased as well. Diarmaid MacCulloch writes that the one text that "the Reformed found perfectly conveyed their message across all barriers of social status and literacy" was the psalms.[21] Under Edward's reign,

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[17] For publication tallies see Daniell, *The Bible*, 329. For the most up to date examination of the Sternhold and Hopkins see Beth Quitslund *The Reformation in Rhyme: The Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
[18] Rikvah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Appendix.
[19] "The Epistle to the Reader," *The Psalmes of David, truely opened and explaned by Paraphrasis,* trans. Anthonie Gilby (London, 1580), vi[v].
[20] Susan Gillingham, *The Psalms Through the Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 1: 131. Robert M. Kellerman. "Miserere Mei: Penitential Psalms and Lyrics in English Literature, 1300-1650" (PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1997), 119.
[21] MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 307.

the psalms provided poets with material that was concurrently scriptural and literary, giving them the opportunity to experiment with new metrical creations, feeding the increase in psalmic works and publications.[22] Ultimately, no matter the reason for their increase in popularity, throughout the sixteenth century, English translations of the psalms, metrical versions of the psalms, and paraphrastic psalmic poetry were consistently present in vernacular literary culture. In all of their various incarnations, as private prayers and battle-songs, markers of true religion or political protest, the psalms acted as a flint.[23] They could spark flames of repression or popularity, but they would always strike controversy.

This thesis examines a grouping of psalms that were often found at the center of sacramental debates: the Penitential Psalms (Ps. 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143).[24] These seven psalms were traditionally connected to the sacrament of confession and penance throughout the medieval period. In spite of this strong association with the traditional sacramental system, the Penitential Psalms continued to appear throughout the constantly changing religious environment of sixteenth-century England. No matter how reformed their translators, authors, or readers might have been, these psalms carried with them the cultural and religious afterlife of the sacrament. To understand the appearance and use of the Penitential Psalms in sixteenth-century English literary circles, we must first examine their original connection to the sacrament of penance.

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[22] Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 58.
[23] For a curious use of psalm-singing on the battlefield see, W. Stanford Reid, "The Battle Hymns of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century," *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* 2 (January 1971): 36-54.
[24] This numbering derives from the Masoretic Hebrew texts used for translating vernacular Bibles, including the major ones from the sixteenth century used in this thesis. Vulgate translations number the Penitentials as: 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142.

During the medieval period, religious communities sang or recited the entire Book of Psalms on a weekly basis within the regular cycle of orders.[25] The Penitential Psalms were included in this rotation and were often marked out and recited as a group in communities where they could be used in daily offices and private prayers; they carried a cross-gender appeal and were used throughout various religious orders. One of the earliest sacred manuals written in Britain, a thirteenth-century instructional book for anchoresses, lists the Penitential Psalms as part of the devotee's daily regime of prayer.[26] They appeared in Books of Hours for private reading and prayers, in Lenten services, and Offices for the Dead.[27] In a fifteenth-century Lenten sermon found in the collection entitled *Mirk's Festial*, the writer reminds his readers (and listeners) that the central Penitential Psalm, Psalm 51, can lead sinners into contrition: "Wherfor forto draw men to contricion namly Þes fyfty dayes, Þe fyft psalme of Þe sauter, that ys: 'Miserere mei, Deus!' ys more rehersyd Þes dayes Þen any oÞer tyme of Þe yere. Þe wheche us Þus to say yn Englysche: 'God, aftyr Þy gret mercy have mercy on me'."[28] These lines point up the prevalence of the Penitential Psalms as a common occurrence in Lenten liturgy and further highlight the writer's assumption that the audience would be familiar with its recitation. In connection to the sacrament of confession, the seven psalms were assigned to laypersons and clergy alike to be read, prayed, and recited as acts of penance. The words of Psalm 51 were also used in legal situations. A cleric facing capitol punishment in

[25] Mary Kay Duggan, "The Psalter in the Way to the Reformation: The Fifteenth Century Printed Psalter in the North," *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Nancy Van Deusen (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999), 153-4.
[26] Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 7.
[27] These uses will be discussed further in Chapter One.
[28] John Mirk, *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies*, ed. Theodor Erbe (London: Early English Text Society, 1905), 76.

civil courts could quote the psalm in Latin, thereby proving himself to be a member of the clergy and giving him access to ecclesiastical courts.[29]

England's break with Rome didn't lessen the presence of the Penitential Psalms in religious culture. Instead their visibility continued in both private and public circles. After Henry VIII's official break with Rome in 1534, when he declared himself head of the Church in England, the first primer to be printed for laypeople included not only the Penitential Psalms, set out and labeled as such, but also "an expostion" on Psalm 51 by the Catholic reformer, Girolamo Savonarola.[30] Much like the reading calendars of medieval religious communities, Edwardian and Elizabethan primers contained charts for Bible reading that included the entire Book of Psalms to be read each month. The Elizabethan church did not practice the Lenten tradition of oral confession, and yet still Psalm 51 was connected to prayers of guilt and sin in the order for "commination against sinners" found in *The Booke of Common Prayer*.[31] Ramie Targoff argues that with annual confession abolished, the reformed church had fewer opportunities to examine the layperson's prayers, so "Protestant reformers emphasised instead the laity's active participation in the liturgy."[32] With this participation in the liturgy and the printing of easily accessible primers and prayer books, the psalms were not merely "for liturgical use, but [transformed] . . . into a text of common prayer."[33] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bibles sometimes show this use of the psalms as personal prayers with readers who highlight the Penitential Psalms with their own marginalia.[34]

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[29] The legal use of Psalm 51 will be discussed further in Chapter One.
[30] George Joye, *A Goodly Prymer in Englyshe* (London: William Marshall, 1535).
[31] *The Booke of Common Prayer, and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites of the Church of England* (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1559).
[32] Targoff, *Common Prayer*, 66.
[33] ibid, 66.

In addition to these ecclesiastical settings, the Penitential Psalms also appeared in sermons, paraphrases, and translations published throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. John Fisher, a preacher for the royal family under Henry VII and VIII, published a "Treatyse Concernynge The Seven Penytencyall Psalms," based on a series of sermons he had preached for Lady Margaret Beaufort. Extending beyond its original purpose as devotion and instruction for a female authority, this treatise would be reprinted well into the 1530's.[35] George Gascoigne paraphrased the Penitential Psalm 130 and published it in *Posies* with a header describing the contrite mood that inspired his composition.[36] Sir Thomas Wyatt and Anne Lock wrote their own poetic versions of the Penitential Psalms.[37] Edmund Spenser even composed his own version, though now lost.[38] English translations of continental versions of the Penitential Psalms were also published, including Petrarch's *Psalmi penitentiales* and Pietro Aretino's prose version, *I Setti Salmi de la Penitentia de David*.[39] Poets and writers translated, recreated, and refashioned the Penitential Psalms into their own interpretations and versions.

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[34] William Sherman examines one of these examples found in a sixteenth-century hand. See his *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 152.
[35] John Fisher, *This treatise concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge [and] prophete in the seuen penytencyall psalmes* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1508).
[36] George Gascoigne, *The Poesies of George Gascoigne* (London: Richard Smith, 1575), biiii^{v}.
[37] Sir Thomas Wyatt's *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms* is discussed below in Chapter Two, and Anne Lock's *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* is discussed in Chapter Three.
[38] Hannibal Hamlin, "Piety and Poetry: English Psalms from Miles Coverdale to Mary Sidney," *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, eds. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 204.
[39] Francesco Petrarca, *Petrarchs Seven Penitentiall Psalmes Paraphrastically Translated*, trans. George Chapman. (London: Richard Field, 1612).
Pietro Aretino, *I Setti Salmi de la Penitentia de David*, (Vinegia: Marcolimi, 1536).

From the lush, illustrated Books of Hours used by the upper classes to the utilitarian reformed prayer book employed by laymen in the pew, from the courtroom to the pyre of execution, the Penitential Psalms were read, recited, prayed, translated, pronounced, and paraphrased throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as they were woven into the religious culture of the day. These seven psalms could be used for comfort, confession, or protest. Thomas Sommers took forbidden books, which were to be used as his punishment, and repurposed them creating a ruff of book pages so that he could "go hansomely in [his] apparel." The various authors examined in this thesis similarily shaped the Penitential Psalms to their own uses, in spite of (or as a result of) the religious culture surrounding the psalms' use.

This thesis will examine four different texts adapting the Penitential Psalms written by five different authors. Throughout, the questions raised in Foxe's account of Thomas Sommers' "penaunce" will remain central: what was the place of the Penitential Psalms in relation to the often-lethal religious disputes of the Reformation? How did those seeking to reform traditional practices of ritual penance then retain or reject these seven psalms? Do representations of the penitential body remain central to these paraphrastic accounts, or do these changes in theology and literary forms inspire changing corporeal perceptions?

For Thomas Sommers, "penaunce" included the destruction of his goods, a ritual of public shaming, and eventual death. As I explore the opportunities for experiencing states of guilt and repentance afforded by an engagement with the Penitential Psalms, I will pay particular attention to the imaginary bodies appearing within penitential literature. My guiding focus throughout will be upon the relationship—so central to Foxe's account—between the textual and

the corporeal; between bodies and texts.

Building upon previous studies of psalmic production, I will argue that in spite of the religious and cultural movement away from sacramental traditions of the preceding centuries, the Pentiential Psalms remained at the center of reformed production and practice. These seven psalms brought with them all of the attendant coporeal resonances they held when used in connection to sacramental rituals, but they also inspired the production of new literary texts within the sixteenth century. Using new historical strategies of criticism as well as aspects of gender theory, I will examine how even as the Penitential Psalms were moved out of liturgical use, they inspired productive literary changes, opening up possibilities for new literary forms. Further, even amidst the sacramental changes and literary explorations, the Penitential Psalms retained their connection to the corporeal. The body of the penitent, therefore, remains the touchstone throughout these four literary texts.

As a result, the central argument in this thesis stands in contrast to arguments like those of Eamon Duffy who have written sixteenth-century theological changes in a register of loss.[40] This thesis will join a number of recent studies that view the reformation as an impetus for the experimentation of new literary forms of the English Renaissance.[41] Modes of translation have been of

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[40] Duffy's words in his seminal work, *Stripping of the Altars*, set the tone for his scholarship: "Traditional religion had about it no particular marks of exhaustion or decay. . . . when all is said and done, the Reformation was a violent disruption, not of the natural fulfillment, of most of what was vigorous in late medieval piety and religious practice" 4. See also Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[41] Some of the critics whose recent works have explored this trend include: *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. Brian Cummings and James Simpson, Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University

particular interest to this recent scholarship.[42] This thesis hopes to contribute to this intellectual sphere by indicating how some of the formally innovative literary works of the sixteenth century were indeed forms of translation, arising from a contested religious and political context where translation of scripture could never be a neutral issue.

The Formation and Beginnings of the Penitential Psalms

Judaic and Christian tradition viewed the psalms as a unique biblical book because of its representation of a wide range of human emotions. The 150 selections that make up the book were and continue to be viewed as a microcosmic examination of all of life's events, from birth to death. The persistent spoken "I" that runs throughout the book distinguishes the psalms from other biblical books, like Ecclesiastes, that also cover a wide range of human events. Fourth-century theologian, Cassiodorus wrote that the psalms contained an apt message for every period of one's spiritual development:

> This is the book that truly shines, the word that brightly gleams, the cure for the wounded heart, the honeycomb for the inner man, the record of spiritual persons, the tongue of hidden powers which brings the proud low before the humbled, subjects kings to poor men, and nurtures little ones with kindly address. . . . The believing mind cannot get too much of it once

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Press, 2007); Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[42] For a small selection of this recent scholarship on translations see Margaret P. Hannay, "'Wisdome the Wordes': Psalm Translation and Elizabethan Women's Spirituality," *Religion and Literature* 23.3 (1991): 65-82; Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Suzanne Trill, "'In Poesie the Mirrois of Our Age': The Countess of Pembroke's 'Sydnean' Poetics," *A Companion to Tudor* Literature, ed. Kent Cartwright (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), 428-43.

> it has begun to be filled with [the psalms].[43]

Centuries later, John Calvin labeled the psalms "an anatomy of all the parts of the soul."[44] For Calvin, the psalms were a mirror representing life: "the Holy Spirit has here drawn to the life all the griefs, sorrows, fears, doubts, hopes, cares, perplexities, in short, all the distracting emotions with which the minds of men are wont to be agitated."[45] This psychological and emotional exploration combined with the first-person voice used throughout the book has often led readers to interpret the Psalmist's words as their own. Anthony Gilby, in his dedicatory epistle to de Bèze's paraphrases, wrote that the psalms are unique when compared to other parts of the Bible for this very reason. "For whereas all other Scriptures doe teach us what God saith unto us, these prayers of the Saints doe teach us, what we shall say unto God."[46] Archbishop Matthew Parker wrote in the introduction to his own metrical version of the Psalter that

> In other bookes: where man doth looke,
> but others wordes seeth he:
> As proper hath: this onely book,
> most wordes his owne to be.[47]

For both Anthony Gilby and Matthew Parker, the reader of the psalms could not only identify with the speaker of the psalms, but could also, in effect *become* the

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[43]Cassiodorus, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, ed. P.G. Walsh (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 1:24.
[44]John Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, trans. James Anderson (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1949), 1: xxxvii.
[45] ibid, 1: xxxvii.
[46] Anthony Gilby, "The Epistle to the Reader," *The Psalmes of David,* ¶iiii^{r}.
[47] Matthew Parker, *The Whole Psalter Translated into English Metre* (London: John Day, 1567), Aiiii^{v}.

speaker.

This intimate identification available to the reader of the psalms likely inspired early Christians to group together these seven psalms as an example of a sinner's recognition of guilt and repentance. Precisely when they were selected to be read or recited as a group is unclear. But by the sixth century, when the patristic theologian Cassiodorus wrote his commentary on the psalms, this grouping, used as the "prayer[s] of penitents," was an accepted element of penitential practice within the Christian Church.[48] David who is commonly believed to be the author of most if not all of the Penitential Psalms was often looked to as the model of a perfect penitent.[49] This reading of David as a model penitent continued through the sixteenth century, where it informed Sir Thomas Wyatt's own version of the Penitential Psalms.[50] However, a solid acknowledgment to David or a specific attribution to certain events in his life was not necessary for every early modern reader. An editor of one sixteenth-century devotional volume wrote in a preface to Girolamo Savonarola's sermon on Psalm 51 that

> wheter it were done upon that occasion or not, that I referre to the judgement of other, because that in the psalter they stande not together orderly: yet this is very certayne, that they may well and of good congruence be called penitential, for so moche as penaunce in them is so diligently often, and manifestly treated, repeted, and commended, as in the selfe psalms is safely perceyned.[51]

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[48] *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, 3:412 & 422.
[49] For an account of David and the Penitential Psalms within the early Christian church see, Kevin Uhalde, "Juridical Administration in the Church and Pastoral Care in Late Antiquity," *The New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 113-15.
[50] Michael P. Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 58-63.
[51] Girolamo Savonarola, *An Exposicyon After the Maner of a Contempacyon Upon the*

By the ninth century, the Penitential Psalms were used both in the Office of the Dead and Advent liturgy, giving them a regular place in clerical and lay devotional experience.[52] Karen Wagner, in her analysis of *ordines* for the offices of penance during the medieval period, cites several appearances of the Penitential Psalms from a penitent praying through them as penance to the confessor singing them with the penitent as a part of the sacrament.[53] Their frequent appearance in both public and monastic liturgy may account for their inclusion in most Books of Hours, where they were used for private devotion as well. The Book of Hours alone, not counting liturgy for Sundays and feast days, masses for the dead, and various ecclesiastical festivals would have ensured a cultural saturation of the Penitential Psalms across England and Europe.[54] When authors took up the Penitential Psalms as materials to recreate and incorporate them into their own texts, they were also taking up the social and religious tapestry of the sacrament with which these psalms were inevitably connected. Therefore, in this thesis I take into account not only the social and political environments surrounding the texts, but also the sacramental contexts of these psalms.

The Penitential Psalms and Their Connections with the Sacrament of Penance

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li. Psalme (Paris: Nicolas le Roux, 1538) G8r.

[52] Gillingham, *Psalms Through*, 113. They were also used as a group in regular Catholic services up to the twenty-first century (Copies of the *Roman Breviary* were published in almost the same format until substantial changes were made at Vatican II.)

[53] Karen Wagner, "*Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem*: Penitential Experience in the Central Middle Ages," *New History*, 201-18.

[54] Even though Books of Hours were often quite expensive, there is some evidence that by the fifteenth century, cheaper unbound versions were more easily attainable, see Duffy, *Marking*, 4.

Devotional texts and theological treatises of the medieval period refer both clergy and laity to the Penitential Psalms as a means of moving through the spiritual process of guilt and forgiveness. The speaker in the seven psalms has been understood as progressing through three stages of spiritual dialogue from asking God "do not be angry;" to "have mercy upon me;" and finally "hear me."[55] This expression of contrition and repentance as well as the inclusion of these psalms in *Horae* and other devotional texts is likely what led to the association of these psalms with the sacrament of penance, and by the twelfth century they were consistently being labeled as "the Penitential Psalms."

Members of the early Christian church participated in a form of confession by verbalizing their sins. The Book of James contains a reference to an early form of confession: "Knowledge youre fautes one to another: and praye one for another, yt ye maye be healed. For the fervet prayer of a ryghteous man avayleth moch."[56] By the early modern period, however, confession, and the attending parts of the sacrament of penance had become more ritualized than the epistle depicts. As early as the sixth century, penitential manuals were being written for monastic communities in Britain and Ireland to educate readers on how to perform and administer the rite of confession.[57] While forms of confession and penance were practiced during the earlier medieval period, the gathering of the

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[55] E. Ann Matter points this out in her chapter on Petrarch's psalmic literature, which is where she clearly and succinctly shows the rhetorical and emotional progression within the seven psalms. See E. Ann Matter, "Petrarch's Personal Psalms (*Psalmi penitentiales*)" in *Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, ed. Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 220.

[56] James 5, Great Bible (1540). Throughout this thesis I will be using sixteenth-century English translations. I will use the version most likely to have been used or be familiar to the author under discussion. Except for Chapter One, I will not use verse markers, unless provided in the original version of the text.

[57] Rob Meens, "The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance" in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages.* ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1998), 47.

Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 had perhaps the most standardizing effect on the practice.[58] The twenty-first Canon in the 1215 decree, often called the *Omnis utriusque sexus*, commanded that every Christian in the Roman Catholic Church "should individually confess all their sins in a faithful manner to their own priest at least once a year, and let them take care to do what they can to perform penance imposed upon them."[59] This was not the first canonical declaration concerning confession, but it was certainly the widest reaching and enforced the growing interest in private confession.[60] The Council of Trent would reaffirm this canon in 1551, to combat increasing Protestant attacks on the sacrament of penance.[61] By the time this canon had traveled from the halls of the Council meeting to the English village, the average farmer or laborer probably experienced the sacrament of penance only once per year, prior to taking the Eucharist at Easter. While there is evidence that laypersons could confess and perform penance at other times during the Church calendar, they were required to participate at least annually and it is unlikely that many laypersons confessed more than once a year.[62] If the Christian did not participate in this sacrament he or she not only committed another sin, but also could not take the Eucharist and then risked excommunication. By binding the Eucharist and the penitential

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[58] While the Fourth Lateran Council may have firmly articulated the practice that would shape the later medieval and the early modern practice of the sacrament, much research shows that both confession and the practice of penance had existed in various forms for centuries before. See, Peter Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction." *Handling Sin*, 1-34; Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2001); Karen Wagner, " Penitential Experience," 201-18.

[59] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 1: 245.

[60] Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 22.

[61] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2: 667.

[62] Henry Ansgar Kelly discusses a penitential manual that encourages at least two other times of confession, but this seems to be more of an exception to this annual time of confession and penance than a regular practice. "Penitential Theology and Law at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century," *New History*, 254-58.

process together at Eastertide, the church gave the priest an opportunity to examine the penitent's conscience as well as for the imparting of spiritual knowledge and pastoral care.[63] Through methods of clerical education, the sacrament of penance had become highly regimented by the sixteenth century, requiring the sinner to complete three main steps before acquiring grace from the sacrament. Because of this requirement of completion, I will consider the terms *the sacrament of penance* and *the penitential process* interchangeable throughout this study, and I will use both of these terms to encompass the entirety of the sacrament: contrition; confession or shrift; and penance, which leads to satisfaction and the absolution declared by the attending priest.

In Chapter Three, I will examine the sacrament of penance in greater detail particularly in connection to the retooling of it that appears in Anne Lock's work, but here I will give a brief outline of the stages that the penitent would be required to complete before accessing the grace made available through the sacrament. The first stage of the sacrament listed in penitential manuals is that the sinner must show contrition for his or her sins. Thomas Aquinas's doctrinal influence can be seen in the definition of contrition found in many of these manuals, which places the emphasis on a general feeling of sorrow for all of one's sins rather than a meticulous examination of the motivation of one's sorrow.[64] The penitent should show "sorrow voluntarily assumed for sins with the intention to confess [those sins] and to satisfy."[65] *Jacob's Well*, a fifteenth-

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[63] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 84.
[64] For a discussion of Aquinas' views on contrition in comparison with Duns Scotus' views on attrition see Tentler, *Sin,* 22-7.
[65] This definition has been attributed to Thomas Aquinas and is quoted in the penitential manual written by Johannes of Werden, *Sermones dormi secure*, 1498, translated in Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 53. See also Tentler, *Sin,* 235 for further discussion on the widespread use of this definition in manuals throughout

century sapience manual written by an author well read in the theology of penance, advises that for the penitent to be contrite he or she should "sorwe of herte for þi synne . . . þu contricyoun [must be] . . . a-forn alle oþere sorwys, þi sorwe muste be al opyn god-ward, havyng most sorwe in þin herte for þi synne, for þou hast wrettyd þi god."[66] Prior to the twelfth century, the Catholic Church had sanctioned deathbed confessions without a priest as efficacious in situations of emergency: the sinner's contrition merited the salvific grace of forgiveness.[67] Eventually, however, twelfth- and thirteenth-century theologians began to recognize this as problematic for the sacrament as a whole: it placed too much value on the individual's contrition. If contrition was all that was needed, what power did sacerdotal absolution hold? In answer to this concern, the *Omnis utiusque sexus* ordered that confession must be made to the sinner's parish priest, placing a decided emphasis on the necessity of the priest, and attenuating the sinner's contrition.[68] Mere sorrow then, was not sufficient—assumption of guilt and purpose of action were required as well, all before the confession had even taken place.

Yet true contrition was still integral to the penitential process and the sinner's ultimate receipt of divine forgiveness. As with the other steps in the sacrament, the penitent's contrition had to find expression in a bodily register, which allowed the priest to measure the sinner's interior, spiritual state. Theological writers began to list subsets of physical signs that would prove the

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Europe. For Aquinas' discussion on the parts of penance see: Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Ed. Reginald Masterson and T. C. O'Brien. vol. 60 (London: Blackfriars, 1966), 90:3, 160-74. Unlike other church fathers, Aquinas did not believe that attrition (sorrow without grace) naturally led to contrition, and as a result was perhaps more precise with his definition, see Kelly, "Penitential Theology," *New History*, 244-47.

[66] *Jacob's Well: An Englisht Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience,* ed. Arthur Brandeis (London: Early English Text Society, 1900), 168.

[67] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 19.

[68] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2: 667.

sinner's complete psychological involvement. Anne Thayer's examination of sermons from the late medieval period turns up four proofs for the priest to utilize in discerning the validity of the sinner's contrition. First, "the penitent must actively turn from sin to pursue virtue."[69] Second, a determination to complete the penitential process must also be present. Third, the sinner must perform the process with pure motives. These first three proofs are focused on the interior, psychological state of the sinner. The last step is the crucial outward, physical sign of the sinner's contrition: tears.[70] This, however, was still the first stage in the penitential process, and these tears were just the beginning of the sinner's journey of repentance. The author of *Jacob's Well* clearly links the appearance of tears as an indicator of the sinner's spiritual contrition: "Leyȝhyng & enjoyng in a seke body is sygne of deth, wepyng & sorwe is sygne of lyif; Ryght so, in a synfull persone leyȝhing and joying for his synne is signe of dampnacyoun, and wepying & sorwe for his synne is signe of savacyoun."[71] This emphasis on tears was not merely a point of discussion for theologians and scholars. We have at least one example, though perhaps atypical, of a medieval penitent focusing on her tears. Throughout her autobiography, Margery Kempe points to her tears as evidence of her contrition. In the beginning of the narrative she writes, "And than, sche beheldyng hir owyn wykkedness, sche mygth but sorwyn and wepyn and evyr preyn for mercy and foryevenes."[72] Whether she knew of the four evidences of contrition is immaterial; what is important for this discussion is that Kempe positions herself as a penitent to be emulated. She clearly interprets the presence of tears as evidence of her contrition.

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[69] Thayer, *Penitence*, 52.
[70] ibid, 51-2. Tentler mentions these as well, see *Sin and Confession*, chapter 5).
[71] *Jacob's Well*, 171-72.
[72] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry Windeatt (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 397-99.

However, to complete the sacrament and receive forgiveness, the penitent must do more than merely show sorrow for his or her sins: "Þi contricyoun avayleth Þe noȝt but schryfte & satysfaccyoun be don," writes the author of *Jacob's Well*.[73] For first-century Christians, confession was simple and direct: they confessed their sins to each other in small groups and congregationally. Yet as with contrition, the medieval church gradually formalized this step in the sacramental process, creating a more complicated performance than merely speaking one's sins to another. Confessional manuals and printed sermons at the start of the early modern period proposed four elements that were necessary for a good confession to be made.[74] First, the sinner must perform self-examination to discover the sins committed. Second, the sinner should make a full confession by listing every mortal sin that had been committed since the last confession (most likely the previous Lenten season). In his book, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation,* Thomas Tentler writes that a thorough confession is the most universal stipulation found throughout confessional manuals: "To exaggerate the importance of completeness seems hardly possible. It was and has remained indispensible to forgiveness in the Roman Catholic Sacrament of Penance."[75] Third, the sinner should admit that the sins were his or her own, instead of making excuses of extenuating circumstances. And finally, the confession must be made with sorrow for the sins confessed and a resolution that they will not be committed again. Unlike the previous stage of contrition, here the sinner is showing sorrow for the sin *after* confession of the act, not prior to it. By completing these four parts, the sinner would have "shrived" him- or herself by giving a good confession. As in contrition, there is a concerted effort

[73] *Jacob's Well*, 173.
[74] Thayer (*Penitence* 58-9) and Tentler (*Sin and Confession*, 104) both mention these steps as constituting a good confession.
[75] Tentler, *Sin and Confession,* 109

to ascertain the sinner's psychological state, to determine if he or she is actually progressing through the sacrament correctly, by engaging the body with the sacrament through speaking the sins committed.

The confessor was seen as a minister of God's grace when he assigned penances in the last step of the penitential process. The acts of penance were seen s a "treatment . . . effective toward the recovery of the health that has been lost through sin."[76] Penance was viewed not only as punishment, but a method of spiritual healing: a way to atone physically for the spiritual sins committed. The writer of *Jacob's Well* uses this conceit of spiritual healing, and points out that complete healing cannot take place without satisfactory acts of penance:

> For Þow3 Þi wound, Þi sore, & Þin hurte, be delyveryd fro deed flesch, Þat is, of dedly synne, be Þe corrysie of contricyoun, & also made clene, with drawynge salve of confessioun, 3it, it nedyth to be helyd up, with an helyng salve of satisfaccyoun, elly it wolde be style sore & nevre hole.[77]

The sacrament is not complete (and the spiritual rewards are not obtained) without these acts of penance. As with the previous stages in the process, the will of the sinner was important. Just as the sinner chose to sin, he or she must choose to take on assigned acts of penance voluntarily; as penance completed voluntarily would atone for more sin and achieve more grace than an act completed grudgingly or unwillingly.[78]

Punishments for sins have varied throughout the history of the Church, including everything from fasting for a few days to living on gruel for a period

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[76] McNeil and Garner, *Medieval*, 45.
[77] *Jacob's Well*, 188.
[78] Thayer, *Penitence*, 67.

of time to sleeping all night in a container of water. One of the most common assigned acts of penance, particularly in the earlier medieval period, was some form of fasting.[79] Tentler gives some examples of earlier, more stringent assignments. A priest discovered living with a concubine would have to wear a hair shirt and fast on bread and water. If a member of the clergy had sex with a nun, this would earn him fifteen years of fasting. For a layperson, having sex with one's wife on Sunday or during Lent would earn the sinner seven days of fasting.[80] Certainly, it is possible that these penances were not actually assigned and may not have been completed in real practice; at least one thirteenth-century writer complained that sinners were less than willing to perform the prescribed seven years fasting for a mortal sin.[81] Concerns about such severe austerity led to ongoing debates. Pilgrimages and monetary offerings were assigned more frequently in the later medieval period in hope that the sinner would complete the penitential assignments more readily than when assigned severe fasting.[82] Sinners could also purchase indulgences as part of the penitential process to satisfy punishments for sins. Nonetheless, the practice of physical mortification remained a persistent ideal.

Karen Wagner argues in her account of penitential experience in the central middle ages that "the Church had a purpose in ordering penance for all Christians" which was stated in the *Omnis utriusque sexus* and would have "an interest in securing their participation."[83] The Church began to adjust the severity of assigned penances after the Fourth Lateran Council because of the

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[79] McNeil and Garner, *Medieval,* 31-2.
[80] Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 324.
[81] ibid, 17.
[82] ibid, 17. For an overview of penitential substitutions see A. Boudinhon, "Penitential Redemptions," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann (London: Appelton, 1911), 12: 1760-61.
[83] Wagner, "Penitential Experience," *New History*, 202.

layperson's reaction to and failure to complete the acts.[84] With the entirety of medieval Christendom required to participate in the penitential process, this tendency to assign fewer acts became more pronounced in theological texts in the late medieval period. Authors of confessional manuals were concerned that the penitent would agree to the acts, but not complete them.[85] This would then place the penitent in a worse state than at the start of the process: the sinner would not receive the grace available through the sacrament and would commit more sins by lying to the priest. In his long poem, *Instructions for Priests,* the fifteenth-century priest John Mirk warns confessors:

> Þerfore set hym in syche way,
> Þhat hys penaunce he may do ryȝt,
> Be hyt hevy, be hyt lyȝt;
> ȝef Þow ley on hym more
> Þenne he wole asente fore,
> Alle he wole caste hym fro,
> And schende [shame] hym-self. (1641-46)

Pastoral concern that the sinner might "schende" him- or herself, probably led to the assignment of more manageable penances than living for seven years on bread and water alone.[86] The types of penances assigned may have varied according to the sin or lessened over the centuries, but they have always hoped to mortify the sinner's body as a means of attaining grace for his or her soul.

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[84] ibid, 202.
[85] Confessional manuals warn the priest to assign acts befitting the penitent's age and health. Kelly, "Penitential Theology," *New History*, 280-81.
[86] Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 326-28. Tentler points out that some penitential manuals recognize the problem with assigning seven years of penance per sin which could result in incompletion.

Recitation of the psalms themselves often became part of this process. The Penitential Psalms were used in services, both for groups of penitents and in regular occurrences on the ecclesiastical calendar, but they were most often present in this last stage of the sacrament. At one service held for a group of penitents in the eleventh century, the bishop pronounced the Penitential Psalms over the kneeling penitents.[87] The Penitential Psalms were assigned as penance and to be sung, recited, or meditated upon in private. With their cycle of guilt and dialogue of confession with God, they could easily be used in rituals of group confession and repentance or in private devotions. Innocent III, the presiding Pope over the Fourth Lateran Council, commanded that the Penitentials be recited during Lent in church services. At the Council of Trent, Pope Pius V reaffirmed Innocent's proclamation, stating that they be read for the Friday Office throughout Lent.[88] Even as late as 1633, Galileo was sentenced by the Inquisition in Rome and commanded to read the Penitential Psalms once a week for three years as an act of penance.[89] This continued assignment of the Penitential Psalms as acts of penance, along with the internal structure of the speaker's admission of guilt in an ongoing dialogue with God integrated the psalms with each stage of the sacrament, linking them inevitably with the penitential process.

At every stage, the sacrament of penance involved not only the sinner's spiritual self, but also his or her physical body. Contrition, the stage most focused on the condition of the interior self, was still evidenced by external proofs: tears and other signs of sorrow. In the second stage, the penitent had to

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[87] Dominique Iogna-Prat "Topographies of Penance in the Latin West," trans. Graham Robert Edwards, *New History*, 149-72.
[88] Walter Drum, "The Psalms," *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* 12: 1407.
[89] Atle Næss, *Galileo Galilei: When the World Stood Still*, trans. James Anderson (Berlin: Springer, 2005), 174.

verbalize details of sins committed to the priest, and then answer questions asked about the motivations behind the sins as well as circumstances surrounding them. Finally, the penitent performed the assigned acts of penance in order to receive the forgiveness available in the sacrament. These acts, whether they were done in public, by going on pilgrimage or giving alms to the poor, for example, or done in relative privacy, such as fasting or wearing a hair shirt under clothing, all involved the body. Acts of penance were designed as short-term temporal punishments that would give access to eternal comfort, either by attenuating time in purgatory or gaining rewards in heaven.

These corporeal aspects of the sacrament of penance correspond closely with the centrality and presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Within the medieval church, the penitent had to first participate in the sacrament of penance, before he or she could take part in the Eucharist. As Miri Rubin points out, the sacrament of penance was focused on the individual penitent: on sins committed and confessed and how the penitent could atone for those sins. Penance was "corrective, exhortative [in] nature" demanding a sign of unity in a ritual of guilt.[90] Comparatively, the Eucharist "introduced the universal, cosmic, timeless, supernatural intervention . . . which legitimated and explored the very grace to which access was made through the sacrament of confession and penance."[91] It was through the bodily involvement and performance of the sacrament of penance that the sinner could, quite literally, gain access to the body of Christ present in the Eucharist. The penitent's sufferings could then be associated with Christ's own sufferings, which were referred to in the mass at the elevation of the Host.

[90] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 85.
[91] ibid, 85.

The Reformer's Choice: Rejection or Modification of the Sacrament

Sacramental and religious dichotomies are often read back onto the sixteenth century, dividing authors and texts into camps of Catholic and reformed, with the assumption that those in the "reformed" camp enjoyed a clean break with all things remotely connected to Catholicism. This was not always the case. Particularly in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, the reformed were only gradually breaking away from the sacrament of penance. Luther criticized the penitential process as enacted by the Catholic Church, but argued that confession could be spiritually beneficial. He writes, "As to the current practice of private confession, I am heartily in favor of it, even though it cannot be proven from the Scriptures. It is useful, even necessary, and I would not have it abolished . . . for it is a cure without equal for distressed consciences."[92] Whether theologians and reformers argued against the sacrament of penance or for it, the Penitential Psalms remained connected to the penitential process, and brought the cultural memories and knowledge of the sacrament with them when authors sought to reshape and remold them into something different. It is in this context that my thesis seeks to explore Sir Thomas Wyatt's, John Foxe's, Anne Lock's, and Philip Sidney and Mary Herbert Sidney's use of the Penitential Psalms.

As reformers began to reject the regimented sacramental process, guilt and repentance were seen increasingly in relation to the penitent's interior spiritual state. Contrition could be declared to God in private; sins could be confessed to God without ever opening one's mouth, and there was no need to perform

[92] Martin Luther, "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," in *Word and Sacrament II* vol. 36 of *LW*, ed. Abdel Ross Wentz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press,1959), 86.

exterior acts of penance, as Christ had already atoned for sins committed. Broadly speaking, for the reformed, the sinner's acts (or abstinence from sin) could not earn him or her anything. And yet, even if the sacrament of penance was rejected by the reformed, this did not disentangle the Penitential Psalms from the sacrament. As discussed in Chapter One, although the sacrament of penance had been rejected under Edward VI, Mary I's religious reforms returned the Penitential Psalms to their original connection with the sacrament by reinstating not only traditional liturgy, but also enforcing a return to the layperson's experience of annual confession and penance.

Throughout the tumultuous changes between traditional and reformed religious experience, the Penitential Psalms remained just that: Psalms connected to the sacrament of penance. The sacrament of penance was enacted and completed with the involvement of the penitent's body. The Penitential Psalms, woven throughout the sacrament, continued to carry this association with the body. But these external associations did not suddenly cease with Henry's break from Rome and its rituals. Even though the formalized sacrament was rejected and the process of guilt, confession, and forgiveness moved to the interior, spiritual landscape, the penitent's body is still found in reworkings of the Penitential Psalms.

We can now return to John Foxe's account of Thomas Sommers and see just how burdened it is with a subtext of symbolic language. Foxe's use of the word "penaunce" becomes multi-faceted in light of the concepts discussed above; he is being both scathingly ironic and deeply serious. On one level, Sommers' "penauance" is enforced by external authorities. Foxe sees Sommers' punishment as emblematic of a whole religious structure which remains focused upon correct exterior observance at the expense of a righteous, spiritual life. And yet

Foxe's diction also reveals a thread of piety and expiation, even triumph in Sommers' real, not fake penance. Sommers' refusal to submit to his captors by the production of his ruff of books and the sacrifice of his own welfare to save the printed word are, for Foxe, the clear outward signs that Sommers is internally penitent and spiritually clean. Foxe's account—an innovative reworking of the genre of medieval hagiography—thus exemplifies the position of the Penitential Psalms as the focal point for the dense interaction between different themes that is the subject of this thesis: themes regarding the history of religious thought; the political life of sixteenth-century England; questions of subjectivity and interiority; along with the evolution of literary forms. The presence of the Penitential Psalms in texts such as Foxe's produces a distinctive dialogue between the corporeal and the spiritual, with the written word as its vocal medium. In Foxe's account, the book, the New Testament, stands in symbolically both for the body of the penitent and for the reformed inner state for which true believers are burned. It is this interplay between physical and subjective states, via the study, that provides the focal point for this thesis.

Literary Scholarship on the Penitential Psalms

The psalms permeated the early modern period, appearing everywhere from Henry VIII's collection of theological arguments for his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, to the *Horae* used in personal devotion, to ecclesiastical services in both Catholic and reformed settings. There has been much scholarship on the Book of Psalms both from ecclesiastical historians and literary

scholars, studying their wide-spread presence throughout sixteenth-century England. In the past, these scholars tended to examine either the theological uses of the psalms by religious reformers of the time or how the psalms appeared in primers and *Horae* laregly to study printing and the history of the book. In 1946, Hallett Smith's published an influential article in *The Huntington Library Quarterly,* entitled "English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and the Literary Significance;" she was one of the first to argue the literary merit of psalmic paraphrases and translations from the early modern period.[93] Then, thirty years later, Barbara Kiefer Lewalski's *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-century Religious Lyric* again brought psalmic literature and its influence to the forefront of literary studies.

Rivkah Zim's groundbreaking *English Metrical Psalms*: *Poetry as Praise and Prayer,* published in 1987 was the first complete volume to argue that the explosion of psalmic poetry in the sixteenth century was comprised of artistic ventures in literature conforming to specific Renaissance rhetorical ideals instead of examining them solely as examples of personal devotion or lay piety. Her chapters on major authors, including Thomas Wyatt, Philip Sidney, and Mary Sidney Herbert contain summaries of scholarship up to the book's publication. The appendix includes a helpful listing of English versions of the psalms, both translations and poetic paraphrases printed from 1530-1601.[94] And yet, even with 86 separate entries, Zim's appendix is incomplete. She labels it as "provisional," allowing that other volumes may be discovered or were unknown to her at the printing, and indeed it does not list at least one volume printed in 1560—Anne Lock's sonnet sequence, which is discussed in my Chapter Three,

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[93] Hallett Smith, "English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and Their Literary Significance," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (May, 1946): 249-71.
[94] Zim, "Appendix A," in *English Metrical Psalms*, 211-59.

below. In spite of these omissions, her list remains a starting point for scholars interested in psalmic texts.

Hannibal Hamlin's *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature,* published almost two decades after Zim's text, further examines translations of the psalms, psalters intended for congregational singing, including the Sternhold and Hopkins, and other poetic versions. Throughout his text, Hamlin makes the argument that the psalms, more than any other text, affected English diction and culture to such an extent that they run like invisible lines through major works of literature, including Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The psalms permeate every area of early modern English life: "they were sung at home . . . recorded in diaries, interpreted in commentaries and sermons, alluded to in the sacred texts of the liturgy and in the secular plays of the theater."[95] In Chapter Six, "Psalm 51: Sin, Sacrifice, and the 'Sobbes of a Sorrowfull Soule,'" Hamlin contends that Psalm 51 was central to the beginnings of the Reformation. Further, in a comparison of various translations, he argues that both John Donne's and George Herbert's poetry were influenced by particular themes present in Psalm 51, particularly the idea of sacrifice found in the last few verses.

Other articles and books tend to focus on a specific text or a particular socio-historical approach to the psalms. The most recent contribution to this scholarship is a new collection recently published by Ashgate entitled *The Psalms in the Early Modern World* which examines several facets including women musicians and their use of the psalms, Wyatt's Lutheran theology in *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms*, and Edmund Spenser's political views of Elizabeth I seen

[95] Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 6.

in light of the Royal Psalms, just to name a few.[96] However, few studies have been written on the Penitential Psalms specifically. Lydia Whitehead's article "*A poena et culpa*: Penitence, Confidence and the *Miserere* in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*," discussed in Chapter One, examines the use of the central Penitential Psalm in Foxe's text.[97] Clare Costley King'oo's PhD thesis, "David's 'Fruytfull Saynges:' The Penitential Psalms in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern England" functions much as a scholarly bridge between looking at the whole of the psalms and examining the Penitential Psalms as a unique grouping. She examines theological and political aspects of several examples of paraphrastic treatments of the Penitentials. Two of her chapters, "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms" and "'Ryghtfull Penitence' and the Publication of Wyatt's *Certayne Psalmes*" were published later as separate articles.[98] King'oo focuses primarily on the centrality of the Penitential Psalms to the Reformation movements of sixteenth-century England, with an entire chapter comparing Luther's and Fisher's commentaries on the Penitential Psalms. Robert Kellerman's PhD thesis, "Miserere Mei: Penitential Psalms and Lyrics in English Literature, 1300-1650," examines the paraphrastic and poetic versions of the Penitential Psalms connecting these literary texts to the reformed practice of Bible reading. Kellerman argues that the popularity of the Penitential Psalms helped to instigate a poetic "movement from didacticism to 'self-expression'" that

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[96] Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis, eds., *The Psalms in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).
[97] Lydia Whitehead, "*A Poena et Culpa*: Penitence, Confidence and the *Miserere* in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*," *Renaissance Studies* 4 (Sept. 1990): 287-99.
[98] Clare L. Costley King'oo, "'David's 'Fruytfull Saynges:' The Penitential Psalms in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern England," (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2005). Clare L. Costley King'oo, "David, Bathseba, and the Penitential Psalms," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (Winter, 2004): 1235-77. Clare Costley King'oo, "Rightful Penitence and the Publication of Wyatt's *Certayne Psalmes*," *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, 155-73.

often revealed the poet's own spiritual condition.[99] Kellerman examines several paraphrastic versions of the psalms, ending with John Donne and George Herbert. Kellerman, much like Hamlin, argues that both Donne and Herbert owe a debt to the Penitential Psalms, particularly as he sees both of them using rhetorical methods similar to the Penitentials.

The Penitential Psalms: Body and Texts

To date, there have been substantial studies on the presence of the psalms in early modern culture. And yet, studies of the Penitential Psalms in either the late medieval or early modern periods remain relatively rare. The major studies that do exist, including those listed previously, tend to examine issues of religious or political contextualization solely or to limit themselves with the establishment of poetic genealogies and literary techniques. These studies have been helpful in calling attention to the presence and importance of the Penitential Psalms in the early modern period. And yet there are many more areas that remain to be studied.

My concern in this thesis, however, is to examine how five sixteenth-century authors expressed and negotiated the seismic shifts occuring in their religious culture through artistic reworkings of the Penitential Psalms by producing several in-depth case studies. I am particularly interested in the intersection of the human body and the written text. But, I will also approach these texts viewing the Psalms as the histiorical juncture between traditional, Catholic and new, reformed devotional practice. From a theological perspective, this thesis will examine the Penitential Psalms in connection with the sacrament

[99] Kellerman, "Miserere Mei: Penitential psalms," i.

of penance, while simultaneously, from a literary perspective I will investigate the presence of the penitent's body within these texts.

In spite of the religious upheavels of the sixteenth-century, I argue that the Penitential Psalms retained their connection to corporeal expressions of the sacrament of penance. As the traditional expressions of external guilt were abolished, some reformed communities, as I discuss in Chapter Three below, attempted to supply their own communal and expressive rituals through consistories or other means. Nonetheless, the general movement was towards focusing on the interior, spiritual realm. However, this interior realm was often described and contemplated in corporeal terms. Invocations of the Penitential Psalms, while carrying consequences for the very real physical body, as shown in John Foxe's text below, are also the avenue through which these authors discuss the imaginative penitential body. The authors' use these psalms to portray for their readers various ideas about an imagined body: the ideal penitential body, the effects of sin upon the imagined physical body, or to give depth to an unseen God by using corporeal terms. The body in these reformations of the Penitential Psalms then becomes a bridge between the sacramental practices of the traditional past and the new, inventive spaces in reformed writing. Examining the body in the Penitential Psalms allows access to the physical and the spiritual, the historical and the literary, the real and the imagined.

This thesis contains two thematic sections. The first part examines the presence of the Penitential Psalms within the social and historical context of the changing sixteenth century. The second section begins a sequence of chapters that look at the Penitential Psalms as the the occasion for the writers to experiment with innovative literary forms: *terza rima* rhyme schemes, the sonnet

sequence, and finally the varied verse forms found in the Sidney Psalter. Though these themes run throughout my thesis, the distinction between them is primarily seen in the difference between the first chapter and the ones to follow.

In Chapter One, I investigate John Foxe's accounts of Marian martyrs and their use of Psalm 51 on the scaffold prior to their execution. I then extend the themes found in these accounts to my analysis of the large title page found in the *Actes and Monuments*. I argue that Foxe's accounts, ranging from the Bible editor John Rogers to the silk apprentice William Hunter, measure the historical and imaginative presence of Psalm 51 for a reformed community who held onto the text while simultaneously attempting to divorce it from its sacramental roots. Consequently, rather than the martyr being a passive subject to external punishment, the Psalm becomes a way to envisage freedom for the body through a reimagining of its connection to the spiritual realm. Foxe wrote his text for a reformed readership who held the vernacular Bible as central to their beliefs and practice, which is seen both in the appropriation of the scripture on the scaffold and in the large, intricate fronitspiece. I connect the martyrs' use of this Psalm with historical judicial practices: medieval clerics could recite Psalm 51 as a means of escaping civil punishment. With this recitation, these martyrs use this Psalm to create a space of agency on the scaffold, even as their religious and physical freedoms are being curtailed. I then analyze the one element that remains stable throughout all of Foxe's sixteenth-century editions—the title page. Within this large, illustrated page are the themes found in Psalm 51 which resonated with reformed thinking of the time, further corroborating the interwoven presence of the Penitential Psalms throughout, not only official ecclesiastical texts for services, but in lay devotional piety and iconographic interpretations of the true religion.

Chapter Two examines Sir Thomas Wyatt's *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms* which is in part an adaptation of Pietro Aretino's prose version of the Penitential Psalms, *I Setti Salmi*, and how Wyatt configures his own unique paraphrastic work within the narrative framework of David's sin with Bathsheba. Wyatt's poetic sequence was one of the first to utilize the relatively new continental stanza form of *terza rima.* Using this experimental poetic form, he positions these seven paraphrases within an erotic context that circles around illicit desire. I build off of Claire Costley King'oo's work on illustrations of David and Bathsheba from the early modern period, by examining these printed moments of occularity in a context of visual and gender theory. Returning to *A Paraphrase,* I then examine Wyatt's verbal positioning of David looking upon Bathsheba and David looking at and being looked upon by God, as creating extending circles of homosocial desire and a continued exploration of male eroticism in this reworking of the Penitential Psalms.

Anne Lock's sonnet sequence, *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner,* was the first sonnet sequence to be published in the English language, yet in addition to its use of this new literary form, it also reveals a radical theological refashioning, which is the focus of Chapter Three. Examining Lock's work in connection to medieval penitential manuals, I argue that the sequence is an attempt to proffer the previous sacramental tradition in a more palatable reformed manner. Central to her process is the examination of the sin-sick soul and the correct reformed medicine needed to heal it. Along with the corporeality of the sinner's conscience, I also examine the interactions involving the fully-formed character of the conscience, a violent God, and the penitent's tortured, and sickened body.

Written by Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney Herbert, The Sidney Psalter is the culmination of these artistic endevours based on the Penitential Psalms, and

is the text I will examine in Chapter Four. It was the first lyrical paraphrase of the Book of Psalms that was meant neither for corporate worship or biblical commentary; instead it is an unprecedented compendium of literary verse forms. Some thirty years separate these poems from the last officially mandated performance of the sacrament of penance in England. And still these examples of productivity and literary transformations are mediated through the corporeal. Instead of the triumphant though condemned, body found in Foxe, or the erotic body found in Wyatt, or even the sin-sickened, medicalized body found in Anne Lock's sonnet sequence, here the penitent has a very different body, one that is partitioned and riddled with decay. After considering the two prefatory poems written by Mary Sidney for the Psalter, which set the tone for the work, framing it as a type of paratext, I argue that the entire Psalter was revised and completed under the specter of an actual body—Philip Sidney's corpse. When Philip died on the battlefield, Mary was left to struggle with the loss and to complete the Psalter. For Mary, Philip will always be a war-hero, not a penitent sinner. Just as the Book of Psalms had become a touch-stone of familial pride and identity for the Sidneys, so to does the Sidney Psalter become a monument to Philip, the dead hero. And yet, this comparison becomes disjointed and disconnected when we examine the Penitential Psalms. The introduction of Philip's corpse in the prefatory poems sets the tone for the death, dismemberment, and decay found in the Penitential Psalms of the Sidney Psalter. Through this disentigration and in the act of autoblazoning, the penitent within the Sidney Psalter has lost the barriers of self-identification. This eventually leads to a perforation between the animal and human world, as the penitent looses what it means to be human.

Mary's poetic productions in the Sidney Psalter thus represent the outer limit, both of the literary experimentation and of transformations of the body

examined in this thesis. Ultimately, the Sidney Penitential Psalms stand as an emblem of the permeation of these texts throughout the sixteenth-century, evidencing not religious and cultural loss but literary creativity and innovation, anchored in the corporeal. Tracking these vivid corporeal and textual themes throughout these texts will highlight the rich artistry of sixteenth-century poetry and prose. Even more importantly, this study will dramatize the preservation and transformation of traditional social and spiritual practices that occured through textual mediums as a new culture struggled to emerge.

CHAPTER I

THE *MISERERE* WRITTEN IN ASHES AND INK: THE PRESENCE OF PSALM 51 IN JOHN FOXE'S *ACTES AND MONUMENTS*

> One of the foresayd Shiriffes . . . callyng M. Rogers unto hym, asked him if hee would revoke hys abominable doctrine, and hys evyll opinion of the sacrament of the aultar. Maister Rogers aunswered and sayd: that whych I have preached, I wyll seale with my bloud. Then, quoth Maister Woodrofe, thou art an hereticke. That shal be knowen, quoth Rogers, at the day of iudgement. Well, quoth M. Woodrofe, I wyll never pray for thee. But I wil pray for you, quoth Maister Rogers, and so was brought the same day, which was Monday þ^e^ iiij. of February, by þ^e^ Shiriffes toward Smithfield, saying the Psalme Miserere by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoysing at hys constancy, with great prayses and thankes to God for the same: and there in the presence of . . . a wonderfull number of peole, he was burned into ashes, washing hys handes in þ^e^ flame as he was in burning. A litle before his burning at þ^e^ stake his pardon was brought if he would have returned, but he utterly refused it. He was the first Protomartyr of all that blesed company that suffered in Queene Maries time, that gaue the first adventure upon the fire. His wyfe and children being a. xj. in number. x. hable to go, and one sucking on her brest, met hym by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowfull sight of hys own flesh and bloud could nothing move him, but that he constantly & cherefully tooke hys death wyth wonderfull pacience in the defence and quarell of Christes Gospell.[100]

This image of a once-famous preacher, writer, and biblical editor "washing hys handes in þ^e^ flame" as he is burning at the stake is representative

[100] John Foxe, *Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes & Monuments* (London: John Day, 1570) DDDqi^v^. This chapter will contain quotations from the four different sixteenth-century editions of *Actes & Monuments* (henceforth *A&M*). Each citation will contain the publication date to indicate which edition is being used. The other three editions used are: John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous days* (London: John Day, 1563); John Foxe, *Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes & Monuments* (London: John Day, 1576); *Actes and Monuments of matters most speciall and memorable* (London: John Day, 1583).

of all the typical and yet enthralling violent narrative that makes up John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. Rogers had been the primary editor of the "Matthew Bible," which compiled William Tyndale's and Miles Coverdale's biblical translations into one volume, printed in 1537.[101] In the years between the publication of the Matthew Bible and his death, Rogers spent considerable time in Germany with key Lutheran theologians and preachers, including Martin Luther's theological heir, Philip Melanchthon. Rogers then returned to England where he continued to propagate Protestant doctrine as the vicar at the large London church, St. Sepulchre.[102] But with the ecclesiastical reforms under Mary I, Rogers' preaching gained him hostile attention and an eventual death sentence. Rogers' well-known biography as a biblical editor and outspoken London vicar positioned him as the perfect "protomartyr" of the English Protestant movement. Foxe presents this account of his death as a new *ars moriendi* for his readers. By emphasizing Rogers' quotation of the *Miserere*, Psalm 51, Foxe anchors Rogers' premature death in the eternal text of scripture, creating a lasting memorial to his faith.

Within Foxe's martyrs' accounts, Psalm 51 becomes a means of triumphant protest and self-recognition. As Rogers is taken from Newgate prison, where he had been held for a year, to Smithfield, his place of execution, Foxe's text aligns Rogers' physical movements with the *Miserere*.[103] Foxe's

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[101] Daniell, *The Bible*, 193.
[102] David Daniell, "Rogers, John (*c.*1500–1555)" *DNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23980, accessed 21 April 2010].
[103] Daniell, "Rogers, John," *DNB*. The title *Miserere* comes from the Latin liturgical title of this Psalm *Miserere Mei Deus*. As the text became more accessible in English as early as the late fourteenth century, authors begin to use this term interchangeably with the title "Psalm 51." Foxe tends to use the Psalm's Latin title, whether or not the speaker is reading or quoting the Psalm in Latin. This grafting of the Latin title onto an English performance can be seen most clearly in his account of Jane Grey's death where Foxe writes, " Then sayd she the psalme of miserere mei deus in Englysh."*A&M* (1563), NNn.iiij^{r}. This

commentary on the crowd's behavior interprets Rogers' recitation of this specific text as indicative of both his refusal to recant and a continued persistence in his confessional stance. Foxe states that "all the people wonderfully rejoysing at hys constancy, with great prayses and thankes to God for the same" approved of Rogers' actions.[104] Presumably John Rogers could have chosen any number of biblical texts, being a preacher, writer, and indeed an editor of the vernacular Bible itself; however, the text that Foxe records him citing is Psalm 51, a text particularly rich in images of sacrifice, judgment, and purgation.[105] Rogers' eventual burning at the stake, while catastrophic in one sense, serves as the culmination of his verbal and physical appropriation of the themes presented in this text. By labeling Rogers a "protomartyr" Foxe presents him as not only the first martyr to be killed under Mary I, but also the *first* martyr, the one who is foremost and whose actions both Rogers' contemporaries and Foxe's readers should emulate. He is the first one to perform the "adventure upon the fire." The diction in this account is anchored in the psalmic language present in Rogers' recitation, and as I will show below, Foxe uses this to reframe the scene of his

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interchangeability of the two titles, however, points up the familiarity of Foxe's contemporary readers with the place of this Psalm in the Latin liturgy.

[104] *A&M* (1570), DDDqi[v].

[105] The academic debate in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries questioning the veracity of *Actes & Monuments* was often based on the study of corrupted, heavily edited versions of *Actes & Monuments* taken from the Catley and Townsend editions printed in the 1830's. Scholarly research has more recently turned to the view of Foxe as cataloguer and compiler instead of an historian. For further information on the historical accuracy of *A&M* see: Patrick Collinson, "Truth and Legend: The Veracity of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs" in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), 151-78; Thomas Freeman, "Text, Lies, and Microfilm: Reading and Misreading in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30 (Spring 1999): 23-46; Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 19; John King "Fiction and Fact in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*" in *John Foxe and the Reformation* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), 12-35; David Loades, "Introduction: John Foxe and the Editors" in *John Foxe and the Reformation*, 1-11.

death, turning it from one of execution to one of immolation, of willful personal sacrifice.

The recitation of Psalm 51 is recorded again and again as the chosen last words of the condemned throughout *Actes and Monuments*.[106] From nobility, including Jane Grey and Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, to the lower class silk apprentice, William Hunter, this Psalm is featured throughout the accounts of the Marian executions. Lydia Whitehead's article "*A Poena et Culpa*: Penitence, Confidence and the Miserere in *Foxe's Actes and Monuments*" is the only work to date that examines the presence of this central Penitential Psalm in Foxe. Whitehead reads these martyrs' recitation through a lens of inwardness and submission, which is influenced by Greenblatt's work on Sir Thomas Wyatt and Whitehead's own interpretation of Lutheran theology. She sees these recitations of the psalm as scenes of power and subjugation, to be read in light of Tudor court politics.[107] This chapter aims to build upon Whitehead's work. Its argument, however, is that instead of placing their body under subjugating judicial powers, Foxe's martyrs use this specific text, though laden with sacramental associations, to give access to an eternal court and reclaim a form of personal agency while on the scaffold. Foxe's martyrs recited Psalm 51 at different points in their execution, foregrounding personal beliefs through their engagement with an eternal text. These accounts consistently point to the martyrs' belief in the importance of the meaning of their deaths. This attention to

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[106] For the Duke of Suffolk, see Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*, (1587), vol. 6, 1101 http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/texts.php?text1=1587_8466 (accessed 15 July 2010). I have chosen not to examine the Greys' death in this chapter as they are political and not primarily religious prisoners. Their use of Psalm 51, therefore, constitutes a different set of actions then the others discussed in *Actes and Monuments*.

[107] See Lydia Whitehead, "*A poena et culpa*: Penitence, Confidence and the *Miserere* in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*," *Renaissance Studies* 4 (Sept. 1990): 287-99.

meaning is what underpins the importance of the vernacular translation for the Protestant community, and at times becomes a source of violent conflict with their excecutioners. These accounts of recitation, reading, performance, and death create places of personal memorialization by linking the martyr's moment of death with the text of the scripture. Foxe concretizes their memorialization in the printing of his own "Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous days."[108] Some martyrs create a moment of protest with their recitation, and others use it to further interaction with a sympathetic crowd or dialogue with a hostile executioner. They align themselves with what they believe is an eternal and communal text, and yet, paradoxically, they also create a funereal space that emphasises their individuality, precisely because they chose this psalm. Additionally, I will examine how the themes of Psalm 51—of divine judgment, of true and false religion, of acceptable and false sacrifice, and the body of the true Church—are seen not only in Foxe's words recording the martyrs' death but also in the iconographic visual depition of the title page of *Actes and Monuments*. Psalm 51 becomes a point of identification for these martyrs and an integral part of their own text of death written in their blood and ashes and memorialized in the pages and pictures of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.

"Have mercy upon me:" Reformed Glosses on Psalm 51

Luther wrote, "our opponents [Roman Catholics] have expended great effort and discussed this doctrine [Psalm 51] in many huge volumes. Yet none of

[108] In my use of the term "martyr," I am neither trying to insert commentary on the individual's confessional beliefs nor attempting to justify events. My desire is to treat Foxe's text as a literary document rather than an historical text. However, as Foxe would have viewed his subjects as martyrs for their cause, and indeed labels them as such in his text, I have decided for simplicity's sake to use this term, as well.

them really understands [it]."[109] This section will show how sixteenth-century Protestants would often read the themes found in Psalm 51 as being specifically applicable to theological debates that intensified throughout the century, including questions of external religious observances, spiritual sacrifice, and the efficacy of the sacraments. This stands in contrast to critics like James Simpson, who in *Burning to Read* has argued that the psalms, including the Penitential Psalms, were read "as expressions of courtly intrigue and threat" during the Henrician period because of their associations with the life of David.[110] As I discuss in Chapter Two, this social-political reading is often applied to Sir Thomas Wyatt's psalmic paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms. [111] Foxes's Marian martyrs, however, find themselves in a vastly different situation from Wyatt's diplomatic missions and courtly life. They are aligning themselves with Psalm 51 for entirely different reasons. To grasp the full implications of the appearance of Psalm 51 throughout the martyr scenes in *Actes and Monuments*, the larger Protestant interpretation of the psalm must be examined.

The Penitential Psalms, including Psalm 51, were deeply woven into the spiritual and ecclesiastical fabric of Henrician and Edwardian England. As shown in the Introduction, in spite of the break with Rome, these psalms continued to appear in primers and devotional volumes throughout the Henrician and Edwardian reigns.[112] With the accession of Mary I to the throne,

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[109] Luther, "Psalm 51," *LW*, 12: 303.
[110] James Simpson, *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 149.
[111] Simpson argues that a Protestant reading hermeneutic during the sixteenth century lead to a fear of being "surrounded by nothing but ferocious and sharp-tongued enemies" (*Burning to Read*, 31). While this may certainly be true of some Protestant perspectives, this ignores the communal aspects of later Protestant devotional writing, particularly that those written towards the end of the sixteenth century.
[112] William Marshall's *A Godly Prymer*, published in 1535 includes the seven Psalms, along with their Latin headings. These are also retained in the 1539

and the legislative changes enacting a return to Roman Catholic ecclesiastical traditions in the early 1550's, including the traditional mass and annual confession, these psalms' presence increased in the social and sacred spaces of sixteenth-century England.[113] Under Marian reforms, the Penitential Psalms would have once again been used in official ecclesiastical Orders for the Dead and the sacrament of penance. With the heightened visibility of Psalm 51 in formal liturgy, it would be easy to assume an aversion to this passage on the part of those reacting to the traditionalist strain moving through England. However, Psalm 51 contains themes that made it central to Protestant doctrine and that allowed it to be enlisted by those resisting the very officials who enlarged the Psalm's presence in the devotional spaces of Marian England.

In the years leading up to Mary's reign, the most common text of the English Bible available to both the clergy and the laity would have been the Great Bible. Published in 1539, it was the first English Bible to be licensed; it was edited by Miles Coverdale, and contained much of the text from John Rogers' "Matthew's Bible."[114] The Great Bible's title page featured Henry VIII enthroned at the top center as the dispenser of God's truth (see fig. 1.1).

Prymer in English. William Marshall, *A Goodly Prymer* and *The Prymer in English* in *Three Primers Put Forth in the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. Edward Burton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1848).

[113] Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 17. Duffy states that annual auricular confession was reinstituted by the lenten season in 1555.

[114] This Bible was commissioned to fulfill the 1536 injunctions that every parish church possess a vernacular Bible. With such an increase in demand, a shortage was created. Thomas Cromwell then advocated for commissioning this edition, which would later go through several printings, Daniell, *The Bible*, 199-200.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 1 .1 Title Page of *The Byble in Englyshe* (Edwarde Whitchurch: London, 1541).

By the time of The Great Bible's printing, Coverdale already had experience with editing another version of the psalms, *Goostly Psalms and spirtuall songes* in 1535, a collection of metrical psalms in English along with accompanying music.[115] Use of the Great Bible made Coverdale's prose versions of the psalms one of the most well known versions of the sixteenth century, marking it as the version the laity would have been most familiar with as well as the most likely version to be heard at Foxe's execution scenes.[116] To understand fully the presence of the language and themes from Psalm 51 in these scenes, Coverdale's translation should be considered in full:

> The.li.Psalme[117]
> MISERERE MEI DEUS
> To the chaunter, a Psalme of David, when ye prophet Nathan came unto him after he was gone in to Bethsabe.
> [1] Have mercy upon me (O God) after thy (greate) goodnes: accordyng unto the multitude of thy mercyes, do awaye myne offences. [2] Wash me thorowly from my wickednesse, & clense me from my synne. [3] For I knowledg my fautes, & my synne is ever before me. [4] Agaynst the onely have I synned, and done this evell in thy syght: yet thou myghtest be justifyed in thy sayinge, & cleare when ye art judged. [5] Beholde, I was shapen in wyckednesse, & in synne hath my mother conceaved me. [6] But lo, thou requirest treuth in the inward partes, and shalt make me to understoode wysdome secretly. [7] Thou shalt pourge me with Isope, and I shal be cleane: thou shalt wash me, & I shalbe whyter then snowe: [8] Thou shalt make me heare of joye and gladnesse,

[115] Miles Coverdale, *Goostly psalmes and spirtuall songes* (London, 1535).
[116] Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme*, 4.
[117] *The Byble in Englyshe* (London, 1540), BBii[v]. I have transcribed this psalm from the 1540 edition of *The Great Bible*. I have also consulted the 1539 edition as well to see if there were any variations, of which none were significant. I have added verse markers in brackets to aid readability but have attempted to retain original spelling, punctuation and paragraph indentation where possible.

> that the bones whych thou hast broken, may rejoyse. [9] Turne thy face from my synnes, & put out all my mysdeeds. [10] Make me a cleane hert (O God) and reneu a ryght sprete wythin me. [11] Cast me not awaye from thy presence, & take not thy holy sprete from me. [12] O geve me the comforte of thy helpe agayne, & stablysh me wyth thy fre sprete. [13] Then shall I teach thy wayes unto the wicked, and synners shall be converted unto the [14] Delyver me from bloud gyltynesse (O God) thou that are yet God o my health, and my tonge shall syng of thy ryghteousnesse. [15] Thou shalt open my lyppes (O Lord) my mouth shal shewe thy prayse.
>
> [16] For thou desyrest no sacrifyce, els wolde I geve it ye: but thou delytest not in burnt-offerynge. [17] The sacrifyce of God is a troubled sprete, a broken and a contrite hert (O God) shalt thou not despyse. [18] O be favorable & gracyous unto Syon, buylde thou the walles of Jerusalem. [19] Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifyce of ryghteousnesse, wyth the burnt offerynges & oblacions: then shall they offre yonge bullockes upon thyne aulter.

Martin Luther argued in his lectures on the psalms that this particular Psalm was central to the Protestant movement.[118] Psalm 51 "teaches this knowledge of sin and of all human nature. It does not only present an example . . . but includes the whole teaching of spiritual religion about the knowledge of God, the knowledge of our own nature, sin, grace, and the like."[119] For Luther, this psalm presented the key reforming tenets in a condensed form: conviction, repentance to God, and redemption found only in God. From the first words of the psalm, "Have mercy," Luther sees a contrast with tenets held by the Roman Catholic Church. Luther argues that this phrase focuses the

[118] The following quotations come from transcriptions of lectures given in 1532, and published by Veit Dietrich in 1538. Luther's commentary on this Psalm was well known by other continental reformers, including Phillip Melanchthon; see Jaroslav Pelikan, introduction to *Selected Psalms I*, by Martin Luther (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), 12: viii-ix.
[119] Martin Luther "Psalm 51," *LW*, trans. Jaroslav Pelikan, (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), 12: 311.

speaker's attention on personal unrighteousness and the need for divine help. He sees the Catholic Church as opposing this idea of submission and true repentance:

> The enemies of the Gospel count words. Not only do they fail to understand this, but they do things that contradict it, when they undertake various acts of worship, when they look for forgiveness of sins by wicked Masses, pilgrimages, invocation of the saints, and the like. Such . . . are sinners but do not feel that they are sinners, who go along with stubborn brow and justify themselves, who persecute the Word of God.[120]

Luther argues that Catholicism seeks "forgiveness of sins" by performing spiritual observances, whether or not the spiritual self is contrite. This makes external action the marker of the sinner's salvation. The reformed view, however, argues that forgiveness is felt internally. Outward actions then become indicative of "[6] treuth in the inward partes," as Coverdale puts it. When read through Protestant eyes, Psalm 51 contains themes of judgment; cleansing; true and false sacrifices; and markers that indicate communities of the faithful.

For a reader familiar with the Old Testament, the mere narrative framework would signify a speaker whose sins involved the breaking of at least four of the commandments in the Decalogue.[121] The line, "Nathan came unto him after he was gone in to Bethsabe" would have contained a pun in the original Hebrew: the word בָּא translated as "in to" refers to both Nathan's physical proximity to David, but also David's sexual encounter with Bathsheba.[122] Given the framing of the preface, the speaker's cry "Have mercy upon me" seems dire

[120] ibid, 315.
[121] Exodus 20:2-17; 34:11-24; Deuteronomy 5:6-21.
[122] Robert Alter, *The Book of Psalms: A Translation with Commentary* (London: W.W. Norton, 2007), 180, fn. 2.

indeed. Yet, from the first verse, the speaker places his sins in direct contact with God's mercies and the speaker's sins: "according unto the multitude of thy mercyes, do away mine offences."[123] This sets up a supplicant relationship with a God who has power over the speaker because he can completely destroy, "do away" with, the speaker's sins, rendering him, in a sense, a completely different person.

The imperative mood present throughout the psalm creates a persistent, pleading tone. The speaker will be heard. And yet from his first words of "Have mercy," the overarching theme of judgment is set for the entire passage. In verse three, the sinner vocalizes his guilt, "I knowleg my fautes." Verse four introduces an interesting layering effect as the speaker addresses his silent judge. David says, "Agaynst the onely have I synned, and done this evell in thy syght: yet thou myghtest be justifyed in thy sayinge, & cleare when ye art judged." Within the narrative frame introduced in the preface, "thy sayinge" could refer to either Nathan the Prophet or God, as Nathan acts as the mouthpiece of God's judgment on the speaker, David. The judge, both human and divine, should be "cleare" when enacting judgment: the use of this verb could have two different meanings. The judge becomes more knowledgeable about the situation ("clear") and is absolved of bias, making a "cleare" and fair judgment on the speaker's spiritual state. The speaker, in fact, extends it, adding a further meaning to the word, desiring God to "clear" him of his wrongdoing. From the start, this psalm seems apt for use in a juridicial situation, with its supplicating speaker and both a human and a divine judge.

Verse eight brings in the same image of the speaker as subordinate to God as the divine judge but adds an emphasis on the integration of the exterior body

[123] Psalm 51:1, *The Great Bible* (1540).

and the interior soul by using an elliptical verse structure. God will "make me heare of joye and gladnesse, that the bones whych thou hast broken, may rejoyse." To initiate this cycle of joy and broken bones, God must first "turne" his face and "put out all . . . misdeeds." God remains the one enacting both judgment and punishment. In his recent translation, Robert Alter emphasises the blankness of the absolved soul when he renders this verse "and all my misdeeds wipe away."[124] However, once this absolute emptiness has been created, God must create something to go in that blank space: "a cleane hert."

Throughout the psalm, the speaker returns to this idea of eradication and cleansing. Verse seven is the strongest example of this spiritual cleansing: “Thou shalt pourge me with Isope, and I shal be cleane: thou shalt wash me, & I shalbe whyter then snowe.” The use of "pourge" implies an elimination of something dangerous or diseased. By introducing the use of "Isope" (hyssop) the speaker makes an implicit reference to Jewish cleansing rituals set in place to absolve one of sin and guilt.[125] The second half of the verse repeats "wash" (seen earlier in verse two, “wash me thorowly”), an action which will then make the speaker "whiter than snowe," an image a reader familiar with the Bible or the Torah would recognize when it is repeated in Isaiah 1.

Martin Luther recognized this focus on inward purgation and cleansing, of a stained soul and a clean heart. The sinner’s interior state is more important to God than exterior overtures of righteousness.

> God does not want the prayer of a sinner who does not feel his sins, because he neither understands nor wants what he is praying for. Thus a monk living in superstition often sings and mumbles, “Have mercy on me, O God.” But because he lives with trust in his own righteousness and

[124] Alter, *Book of Psalms*, 182.
[125] Leviticus 14:4-7.

> does not feel the uncleanness of his own heart, he is merely reciting syllables and neither understands nor wants the thing itself.[126]

Luther sees Psalm 51 as focusing on the recognition and feeling of interior sin, repentance and cleansing. The exterior proof of those things becomes secondary to the presence of the correct interior feelings.

The last four verses of the psalm are set off with a paragraph indentation, which visually emphasises the shift in tone that occurs in this section. This small segment contains the primary theme that resonates perhaps the most with the accounts of Foxe's martyrs: true and false sacrifice. At first these verses seem to negate the levitical sacrificial system: "For thou desyrest no sacrifyce, els wolde I geve it ye: but thou delytest not in burnt-offerynge." The implication could be that because of the ideas presented in the previous fifteen verses, God does not delight in sacrifices (external observances); the second half of the verse seems to emphasise this by specifying that he is not pleased with "burnt offerynge[s]." The start of the next verse continues: "[But] the sacrifice of God is a troubled sprete, a broken and a contrite hert (O God) shalt thou not despyse." This return to the interior echoes verse six, which focused on the "inward partes" of the speaker. The sacrifice that will be acceptable is "a broken and contrite hert." Alter's modern translation shows this similarity as well: "A broken, crushed heart God spurns not."[127] Unlike the previous verse, where the speaker's bones were broken by God, verse sixteen with its phrase "els wolde I geve it" implies the speaker's agency in becoming humble and broken. The speaker is choosing to make the acceptable sacrifice of "a broken and contrite hert."

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[126] Luther "Psalm 51," *LW*, 12: 312.
[127] Alter, *Book of Psalms*, 183.

In his seminal treatise, *The Misuse of the Mass*, Luther uses this psalm, and its focus on true and false sacrifice to attack the doctrine of transubstantiation. For Luther, and the reformed community in general, transubstantiation was problematic. Luther viewed the doctrine as the priest exerting power over Christ's body by performing a new sacrifice of Christ's body at the church's altar. Luther looks to this psalm as proof of the correct type of sacrifice desired by God—the "broken spirit" of verse seventeen.

> Everyone can see that these offices [the broken spirit] are not offices of the anointed and tonsured priesthood . . . It belongs properly to all who live under the cross to slay and kill themselves and the lusts and desires of the Adam in them, so that this sacrifice of praise will be as the smoke and fragrance of the sacrificed of the law.[128]

Here again, Luther uses Psalm 51 as evidence for key Protestant doctrines: the priesthood of the believer and a proper view of the Eucharist. Rather than a priest sacrificing the body of Christ in the Mass, the sinner should "slay and kill themselves" as a sacrifice. Luther, whose rhetoric was often bombastic, uses this violent phrasing to link spiritual redemption and cleansing with a personal act of punishment. The reformed, in their attempt to eschew superfluous external observances, would turn inward to the metaphorical sacrifice of the heart found in this psalm. While Luther's phrasing purports to be of "the broken spirit,"

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[128] Martin Luther "The Misuse of the Mass" in vol. 36 of *LW*, trans. Frederick C. Ahrens (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 146. For a summary of both catholic and protestant attitudes on transubstantiation, see David Steinmetz, "The Council of Trent," in *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation* Theology, ed. David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 243-245; David Bagchi, "Catholic Theologians of the Reformation Period Before Trent," in *The Cambridg Companion to Reformation Theology*, 220-232; and MacCulloch, *Reformation,* 129-131.

Protestants, including Foxe and his martyrs, often equated true sacrifice, even implicitly, with an external sacrifice of the body.

Verse eighteen at first appears to be a perenthetical afterthought slipped in the middle of this section that is concerned with the right kind of sacrifice. This verse shifts the previous focus on the personal, one-on-one relationship between God and the sinner to the larger communal entity of Zion as the people of God. The speaker asks that God "be favorable and gracious unto Sion" by building up the walls of Jerusalem. This reference to building the walls of Jerusalem has lead some commentators to argue that verses eighteen and nineteen were added by an editor many years after David's death since they seem to refer to Nebuchadnezzar's armies conquering Israel and Judah, destroying the Temple and the system of sacrifices.[129] Though seemingly extraneous, this verse continues the inferential progression from verse sixteen to verse nineteen: After the broken heart is offered to God, and after he builds up Jerusalem, then will God "be pleased with the sacrifice of ryghteousnesse."

The psalm seems to privilege the interior over the exterior, the spiritual over the physical, and yet it ends with a verse that declares: “Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifyce of ryghteousnesse, wyth the burnt offerynges & oblacions.” Both Luther and Calvin recognize this problem within the psalm and attempt to negotiate it. Luther points to Hosea 14:2, arguing that both in this psalm and the Hosea passage, these are metaphorical sacrifices that can be made in words. “If there is no ox, then the 'ox of our lips,' as Hosea call[s] it pleases

[129] See I Kings 24-25 for an account of the fall of Jerusalem, that commentators point to as corresponding with these verses. The commentators who believe this to be an exhilic addition are too numerous to list here, but see these two as representative: Derek Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Chicago: IVP Academic, 2009), 194. Geoffrey W. Grogan, *Psalms*, The Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2008), 107-8.

Him . . . They are called sacrifices 'of righteousness,' not because they justify—because the person is already righteous by faith or by God's mercy—but because they are done by those who are justified or righteous . . . the people are righteous and know that they please God by grace alone."[130] Calvin also tried to resolve the contradiction:

> In these words there is an apparent, but only an apparent, inconsistency with others which he [David] had used in the preceding context. He had declared sacrifices to be of no value when considered in themselves, but now he acknowledges them to be acceptable to God when viewed as expressions or symbols of faith, penitence, and thanksgiving.[131]

Both see the psalm emphasizing the acceptable sacrifice to God as the giving up of one's self through self-reflection and self-admission creating "a broken and a contrite hert."

Unlike Luther's commentaries, John Calvin's psalmic hermeneutic tends to avoid explicit anti-papistical rhetoric, taking up a more historical and pastoral examination of the passage. Calvin consistently emphasises David's personal and intimate relationship with God, which he sees as exclusive of external interferences. However, Calvin does use verse sixteen, "for thou desyrest no sacrifice," to attack the external spiritual observances of the Catholic church:

> Had he said no more than that this kind of sacrifice was peculiarly acceptable to God, the Jews might easily have evaded his argument by alleging that this might be true, and yet other sacrifices be equally agreeable in his sight; just as the Papists in our own day mix up the grace of God with their own works, rather than submit to receive a gratuitous

[130] Luther "Psalm 51," *LW*, 12: 409.
[131] John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ed. and trans. James Anderson (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1948), 2: 310.

> pardon for their sins. In order to exclude every idea of a pretended satisfaction, David represents contrition of heart as comprehending in itself the whole sum of acceptable sacrifices.[132]

Calvin equates the penitential process with the Old Testament sacrificial system—according to this text, both are deficient and unacceptable to God. Like Luther, Calvin emphasises David's reliance on God alone for salvation and forgiveness, not spiritual merit attained through sacrifices or actions.

Judgment, cleansing and purgation, community, and sacrifice are all present in this psalm. Foxe's martyrs pick up this psalm and its ideas on their way to the scaffold, where they will sacrifice their own bodies as a "sacrifyce of ryghteousnesse." *Actes and Monuments* treats the appearance of this psalm as indicative of the martyr's belief, an oral shibboleth marking them as true believers. Yet, even within its boundaries, this psalm evidences the same arguments over true and false religion that broke apart the English theological landscape. We might note that in spite of Luther's protestations that his "opponents" do not understand the psalm, the text does end with a declaration that God will be pleased "with ye sacrifyce of ryghteousnesse" specifically "burnt offerynges & oblacions," an emphasis on *external* sacrifices as evidence of God's pleasure. This focus on the true believer, appropriate sacrifices, and the clean heart all come together in the repeated appearances of this psalm, used at the very moment that the believer is sacrificing his or her body to the fires of martyrdom. These themes further undergird the large frontispiece, discussed below, which is a visual exploration of what true and false sacrifices might look like. It was Luther after all who wrote that those "who live under the cross"

[132] John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2: 305.

should give "sacrifices of praise . . . [that rise] as the smoke and fragrance of the sacrificed."[133]

"Burnt offerynges & oblacions:" The Marian Martyrs' Reclaiming of Psalm 51

Having considered these Protestant glossings on the Psalm and the themes evident in the text, we may now return to the accounts found in Foxes's *Actes and Monuments*. Each of these accounts, though unique narratives, evidences the presence of the psalm both verbally and thematically. The martyrs recitations and readings reveal an association with a different juridicial sphere, creating access to spiritual freedom through these oral acts of agency on the scaffold, while pointing up the correct type of sacrifice.

The speaker in Psalm 51 appeals to God as the divine judge, who is higher than earthly powers: "Agaynst the onely have I synned" says verse four. The internal language of Psalm 51 appeals to a spiritual court of judgment. By the sixteenth century, however, it had also gathered a contextual history by appearing in judicial proceedings. After being accused of a fatal crime in English civil courts, clergy could escape capital punishment by quoting the first verse of this psalm in Latin. If they could quote the *Miserere*, they would be handed over to ecclesiastical courts for prosecution instead of facing capital punishment in civil courts. The first verse soon became known as the "neck verse," and Psalm 51 would be associated with this legal loophole well into the seventeenth century.[134] John Foxe, who studied and lectured at Magdalen College under the

[133] Luther, "The Misuse of the Mass," *LW, 36:* 146.
[134] Lorna Hutson, *The Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 37; J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983),

Marian reforms when graduates were required to take priestly orders, was certainly familiar with this clerical method of escaping punishment.[135] Yet John Rogers and his fellow martyrs would have had no recourse to this legal loophole. They were being burned for heresy: the opposite of the neck-verse wielding clergyman who could claim sanctuary with the canonical courts. The dramatic tension then is heightened in Foxe's text as Rogers is taken "toward Smithfield, saying the Psalme Miserere by the way."[136] When Rogers quotes "the Psalme Miserere," the crowd *en route* to the procession interprets it as a signal of "hys constancy" and affirmation of what he believes: Protestant doctrine. They see it as a sign that he has not recanted "and [give] thankes to God for the same." Rogers cannot hope to be transferred out of the jurisdiction of his punishers; instead his only hope is to appeal to a divine judge, so he uses the psalm to align himself with an eternal system of justice rather than the temporal order that has condemned him to death.

Lydia Whitehead examines this redirection to a spiritual court in her article, the only substantial critical discussion of Psalm 51 in this context. Whitehead first looks at the changes to the use of the Penitential Psalms in books for ecclesiastical services under Henry VIII and Edward VI, arguing that the influence of Lutheran theology and the loss of an annual sacrament of penance for the Edwardian church led Protestants to understand Psalm 51 as "a rhetorical self-abasement before a frightening deity."[137] Psalm 51 began to be read with an "informal and individual tendency in interpretation" which was

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145; John Hamilton, *An Introduction to English Legal History* (London: Butterworths, 1990), 422.
[135] Thomas S. Freeman, "Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)," *DNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10050, accessed 2 Jan 2012].
[136] ibid.
[137] Whitehead, "*A Poena*," 291.

influenced by the shift to a personal system of repentance, without ecclesiastical oversight. She too reads the martyr's use of Psalm 51 as being divergent from the traditional, sacramental use of penance and confession, and as the martyr's offered proof that he or she is a true believer. In Foxe's text, Whitehead argues, "Protestantism subverts and redefines Catholic rituals of persecution. The relationship between the art of execution and the art of dying is further complicated: words and actions intended to humiliate are reinterpreted by the martyrs as signs of the new faith."[138] It is at this point, however, that my analysis of Foxe's use of Psalm 51 diverges from Whitehead's unfolding argument.

Whitehead relies upon Stephen Greenblatt for her interpretation of the presence of Psalm 51 in Foxe's accounts. As seen in Chapter Two of this thesis, Stephen Greenblatt's work on Sir Thomas Wyatt's paraphrase examines what he sees as a constructed interiority that Wyatt created in connection with his courtly experience. Whitehead argues that this paraphrase associated the psalm with a particular type of "inwardness . . . that culture marginalizes;" further, it "places the psalms in the context of a world oriented around the values of domination and submission."[139] Lutheran theology, which influenced both Wyatt and Foxe, turned repentance into a "'purely passive sorrow'."[140] The speaker of the psalm, Wyatt's David, Wyatt himself, and Foxe's martyr all treat sin as "internalized, a thought crime" as they position themselves as passive and submissive to an overarching God.[141] "The recitation of Psalm 51 places the martyrs firmly in the context of the obedience cult: the submission to God's judgment is clear, unequivocal." Foxe's martyrs are putting themselves in passive submission to a domineering God, as they act in "the theatre of powerlessness which Foxe's

[138] ibid, 294.
[139] Whitehead, "*A Poena*," 294.
[140] Tentler, 354 qtd. in Whitehead "*A Poena*," 294.
[141] Whitehead, "*A Poena*," 294.

narrative creates." The martyrs' exterior actions can be seen "merely as symptoms" indicative of a passive inward submission.[142]

I agree with Whitehead that Foxe's martyrs' recitations of Psalm 51 "redefines the penitent and relocates the court of law."[143] This can clearly be seen shortly after Foxe's account of Rogers' recitation, where Foxe uses legal language, which "relocates the court of law," by appealing to a spiritual judge, Rogers "constantly & cherefully tooke hys death wyth wonderfull pacience in the defence and quarell of Christes Gospell."[144] Rogers is a witness for the defence in Christ's lawsuit. Whereas Whitehead imagines a subjugated and passive martyr, I argue that Foxe portrays Rogers as *acquiring* agency in a newfound court of action, which is revealed in his oral and corporeal behaviour. By using the words, *defence* and *quarell*, Foxe changes Rogers' role changes from that of passive prisoner to active agent in the realm of spiritual ideas. Instead of the priest's transformation of the Eucharist acting as witness to the Gospel, Rogers' death has acted as defense against the complaints brought against "Christes Gospell" by earthly powers. Rogers use of Psalm 51 shifts the scene to a different realm of judgment where instead of being the accused, he becomes the defender, and paradoxically, the sacrificial offering. Psalm 51 is not merely Roger's method of protesting the temporal temporal judicial court that has sentenced him, but is also a symbol of subjection to a divine judge. Essentially, Rogers has removed his spiritual self from the jurisdiction of his captors. It is his actions and recitations that give him spiritual agency even while his physical body is being subjugated. Mary I's ecclesiastical reforms, simultaneously placed Foxe's martyrs in danger, and brought the Penitential Psalms back to the

[142] ibid, 294.
[143] ibid, 295.
[144] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), DDDqi^{v}.

forefront of devotional culture. In quoting Psalm 51, the martyrs are picking up on the physicality inherent to the Penitential Psalms because of their connection to the sacrament. They have chosen a scriptural passage that is being utilized by their captors as the center of the sacrament of penance, and yet, they are wresting it away from their executioners to repurpose it as a text of protest and agency.

Whitehead's application to Foxe of the inwardness and subjection that she finds in Wyatt's work encourages her to mis-read Foxe's stated purpose for his text. The sinner's "outward actions . . . [serve to] stress the importance of the inner life." Their outward actions become almost unimportant when compared to the interiority she sees them displaying.[145] Yet, for Foxe there can be no examination of the sinner's interior submission or dialogue with God. Foxe sets out to be a historian and therefore restricts his writing to recording the *actions* of the martyrs. In his "Protestation to the whole Church of England," a preface to the 1570 edition of *Actes and Monuments,* he sets out his purpose by quoting Cicero: "*Historia* . . . is called, the witnesse of tymes, the light of veritie, the lyfe of memory, [the] teacher of lyfe . . . Without the knowledge wherof mans life is blind, and soone may fall into any kinde of errour, as by manifest experience we have to see."[146] The full title of *Actes and Monuments* labels the text an "Ecclesiasticall history." Foxe produces history as a "witnesse of tymes," not as an account of a person's inner self. Unlike the close introspection of Wyatt's versions of the Penitential Psalms or the dialogue with God in Anne Lock's *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*, Foxe records the history of the true Church. His focus is on the events and acts performed by the martyrs and Christians in his book things that anyone could observe, but only the faithful may interpret

[145] Whitehead, *A Poena*," 297.
[146] *A&M* (1570), ii[v].

correctly. Certainly, the individual's spiritual condition is still important, but as Foxe has chosen the historical genre over the devotional, he examines the actions of the martyrs as an interpretive key to their interior beliefs.

Correctly interpreting exterior actions can become problematic, as Foxe acknowledges in his account of Sir James Hale's death. Sir James Hale was a judge who had tried to uphold Edwardian reforms shortly after Mary's ascent to the throne. After being thrown in prison and recanting, he apparently drowned himself. After recording the event, Foxe berates those who judged Hale's spiritual state, saying:

> This in the meane tyme is certain and sure, that the deede of the man in my mynde ought in no wise to be allowed: which if hee did it wittingly, then do I discommend the mans reason. But if he did it in phrenesie and as beyng out of his witte, then do I greatly pitie his case. Yet notwithstandyng, seyng Gods judgementes be secrete, and we be likewise in doubt upon what entent he did thus punish him selfe, neither agayne is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before þ^{e} last breth went out of his body, me semeth their opinion is more indifferent herein, which doe rather disallow the example of the dead, then dispaire of his salvation.[147]

Foxe does not speculate about one's personal standing with God, but argues that his or her fate should be left with the Divine Judge. Foxe reports Hale's actions as history, not as meditative dialogue or a first person poetic paraphrase. He records exterior actions, marking them as necessary and indicative of the interior—and not as Whitehead argues, merely incidental to the interior.

Unlike the ambiguity present in Hale's account, the story of Foxe's protomartyr, John Rogers, is filled with violent language and narrative tension

[147] *A&M* (1570), TTTtvi^{r}

from the start, as Foxe sets the scene for Rogers' progression to and eventual demise at the stake. This brutal and often dramatic diction is used to highlight Rogers' refusal to participate in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Foxe instead uses the language of Psalm 51 to create an anti-Eucharistic and anti-penitential text of protest in Rogers' interactions with his captors. The inquisitor, "Maister Woodrofe" challenges Rogers on his "hys evyll opinion of the sacrament of the aultar."[148] Rogers' answer turns the doctrine on its head: "that whych I have preached, I wyll seale with my bloud."[149] With his answer, Rogers not only refuses to recant, he further diminishes the transubstantiative view of the Eucharist by declaring that his own blood, not Christ's, will be the mark of his beliefs, the thing that will testify "at the day of judgement."[150] Anticipating his death, Rogers turns the coming event from an execution to an act of self-sacrifice.

This self-sacrifice intensifies as Rogers' wife and eleven children, "one sucking on her brest, met hym by the way as he went towards Smithfield." Yet this "sorrowfull sight of hys own flesh and bloud could nothing move him," Foxe writes. Rogers' rejection of a woman nursing is a clear allusion to the virtue of Charity, often depicted as a nursing mother. Rogers has sacrificed the peripheral virtues of Charity and Family, in order to perform his own personal "sacrifice of ryghteousnesse."[151] After quoting Psalm 51, Rogers then literally rejects "hys own flesh and bloud" as he is "burned into ashes, washing hys handes in þ^{e} flame as he was in burning."[152] By thrusting his hands in the flame, he spurns not only the passivity of being forced to die at the stake, but also his

[148] Foxe, *A&M* (1570), DDDqi^{v}.
[149] ibid.
[150] ibid.
[151] Psalm 51:19.
[152] *A&M* (1570), DDDqi^{v}.

corporeal self in favor of cleansing his spiritual self. Depicting Rogers as "washing hys handes in þ^{e} flame," Foxe returns again to the themes of washing and cleansing that reverberate through Psalm 51. Foxe believes that God will be pleased with the "sacrifyce of ryghteousnesse, wyth the burnt offerynges and oblacions" that Rogers' death offers. Instead of operating as powerless in his own execution, Foxe creates a defiant act of self-sacrifice by aligning Rogers' actions with the approved sacrifice spent "in the defence and quarell of Christes Gospell."[153]

Foxe's accounts also point to the high value the Protestant community placed on Bible reading and vernacular translations for laity. Eamon Duffy has explained that for Marian Catholicism, "the true Catholic way" was to be found through "penitence, not knowledge."[154] Cardinal Pole preached that the Protestant proclivity for scripture reading "maketh many to falle into heresyes."[155] While biblical translation was one of the most fundamental points of contention between the two larger camps of traditional Catholicism and the reformed movement, the use of Psalm 51 within Foxe's text gives specific illustrative examples of how those beliefs played out for individuals and for the use of a specific text.

Rowland Taylor's use of Psalm 51 in the moments before his death points up the tension inherent to this issue of vernacular translations. Taylor, a minister from Hadleigh and a former lawyer, was well known for his affinity for Protestant doctrine, particularly the efficacy and authority of scripture over

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[153] ibid.
[154] Duffy, *Stripping*, 530.
[155] qtd. in Duffy, *Stripping*, 530. For an exploration of lay Bible reading in the sixteenth century see Daniell, *The Bible*, 264-68.

church tradition.[156] Taylor quotes Psalm 51 in English, which elicits a violent reaction from his executioner.

> Syr John Shelton there standyng by, as D. Taylour was speakyng and saying the Psalme Miserere in English, stroke hym on the lyppes: ye knave, sayd he speake Latine, I will make thee. And the last they set to fire: and Doct. Taylour holding up both his handes, called upon God . . . So stode he still without either crying or moving, with his handes folded together, till Soice with an Halbard stroke him on the head that the braynes fell out, and the dead corps fell downe into the fire.[157]

Foxe focuses here on the pointless violence of the persecutors, implicitly describing Taylor as a Christ-figure. Taylor was already going to the stake yet his executioners seem to take a fiendish delight in punishing him, while he offers no reply. Foxe links this extra show of violence directly with Taylor's decision to quote Psalm 51 in English rather than Latin. Shelton violently seeks to subdue Taylor's show of agency revealed in his choice of language. Taylor's executioners would have heard the psalm used in the Latin liturgy, but by quoting the psalm in the vernacular, Taylor removed it from its traditional sacramental use of penance and subjugation, and appropriated it for his own use, as a triumphant moment superseding the sacrificial destruction of his body. Taylor's choice of the vernacular further emphasises the integral importance of the English Bible to the Protestant movement. Taylor, a former lawyer who studied at Cambridge, may well have been aware of Psalm 51's use as the "neck verse," but by quoting it in English, he wrests it from this privileged use to escape judgment, and instead presses it into service defying the very system that used it as a symbol of

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[156] Eric Josef Carlson, "Taylor, Rowland (*d.* 1555)", *DNB*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online ed, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27079, accessed 30 July 2010].
[157] *A&M* (1570), TTTtiii[r].

clerical authority. Another martyr, John Denley, experiences a similar violent reaction when he recites a psalm:

> Being set in the fier with the burning flame about him, he sang in it a Psalme: then cruell D. Story (being there present) commaunded one of the tormentors to hurle a fagot at him, wherupon being hurt ther with upon the face, that he bled agayne, he left then his singing, & clapt bot his handes on hys face: truly quod D. Story to him that hurled þe fagot, thou hast mard a good olde songe.[158]

This account indicates the rhetorical power that quoting a biblical passage could illicit. The executioner exhibits a feeling of proprietary ownership over the text by his clear clear aversion to his enemy's use of scripture. Denley's execution becomes a contest over ownership of the scripture and its use the indicator of a true believer.

William Hunter, a London apprentice who lost his position for refusing to attend Mass, also quotes Psalm 51 in the vernacular. Foxe clearly links Hunter's actions with the reformed practice of vernacular Bible reading and Catholics with a fear of lay biblical study. Foxe writes that a priest confronted Hunter while he was reading; his editorial gloss reads: "The Catholickes can not abyde the Bible."[159] After being arrested and interrogated on his views of the Eucharist, Hunter was condemned to be burned. Hunter, like Taylor, quotes Psalm 51 in the vernacular, and yet, unlike Taylor, Hunter's executioners do not react merely to the language being used but to the text itself.

> Then William tooke a wet broome fagot, and kneeled downe thereon, and

[158] *A&M* (1563), TTTi^{r}.
[159] *A&M* (1570), UUUui^{v}.

> read the one and fifty Psalme, till he came to these wordes: *the Sacrifice to God, is a contrite spirite: a contrite & a broken hart, O God thou wilt not despise.* Then sayd M. Tyrell of the Beaches, called William Tyrell, thou lyest (sayd he) thou readest false, for the wordes are, an humble spirite. But William sayd, the translation sayth, *a contrite hart.* Yea, quoth M. Tyrell, the translation is false, ye translate bookes, as ye list your selves, like heretikes. Well quoth William, there is no great difference in those wordes.[160]

Foxe portrays Hunter as kneeling on the faggot, the very thing that will cause his death. Hunter's physical position is the portent of the bodily sacrifice that the reader will encounter in a few lines. Even here, though, Foxe emphasises Hunter's agency: Hunter asserts his choice over the means of his death by using the faggot as a platform for his last words of dissent and deliberately positions his body as an offering. Once the words of Psalm 51 are read, Foxe leaves no doubt about Hunter's actions: the scripture is used to sanction his fiery death, effectively removing his executioner's source of authority. Hunter does not seem particularly concerned with the diction: "there is not great difference in those wordes," he says. Tyrell, however, sees this departure from an approved and authoritative text as the marker of the reformed movement, which is precisely what he is punishing. Tyrell's violence is directed against the Protestant interpretation of this psalm, which endorses Hunter's use of the passage to rebel against his persecutors. Hunter prays this psalm not to do penance, but to protest the event and sanction his actions with what he sees as the ultimate authority, the scripture.

In this account and throughout the text, *Actes and Monuments* reflects Protestant fervour for vernacular scripture. Thomas Cranmer's Prologue to the

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[160] *A&M* (1570), UUUviii[r].

1540 Great Bible attempts to explain in "feaw wordes to comprehende the largeness & utilytie of the Scripture, howe it conteyneth frutefull instruccyon & erudicyon for every man."[161] Bible reading was to be done by all for help in all situations:

> Herein maye princes learne how to governe the subjects: Subjects obedience, love & dreade to their princes. . . . Here maye all maner of persons, men, women, yonge, olde, learned, unlerned, ryche, poore, prestes, layemen, Lordes, Ladyes, officers, tenauntes, & meane men, virgyns, wyfes, wedowes, lawers, marchauntes, artifycers, husbande men, & almaner of persons of what estate or condicyon soever they be, may in thys booke learne all thynges what they ought to beleve, what they ought to do, & what they shoulde not do, as well concernyng almyghte God."

Though Protestants clung to importance of the availablity of the Bible to all people, in these episodes Foxe presents Catholic authorities as the ones most strongly preoccupied with issues of transaltion. Similarily, Luther also points out this percieved verbal preoccupation:

> The Romanists want to be the only masters of Holy Scripture, although they never learn a thing from the Bible all their life long. They assume the sole authority for themselves, and, quite unashamed, they play about with words before our very eyes.[162]

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[161] Thomas Cranmer, "A Prologue," *The Great Bible,* ii[r].
[162] Luther, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," *LW,* 44:133.

Foxe's reader is left uncertain as to what translation the Psalm is in, and at times even whether it is said in Latin or English. Instead Foxe presents his martyrs engaged with Scripture, and yet refusing to be insistent upon lingustic details. The inner meaning and applicability of the scripture is what is highly valued by Foxe's martyrs, and this view of the scripture is what points up the strongest difference between the vicitim and their excecutioner.

As seen through these examples, the use of this text paradoxically places the martyr in submission to God, but in defiance of the executioner, which is in contrast to Whitehead's argued "theater of powerlessness."[163] Using the biblical text links the martyr to something beyond the temporal moment of execution, and therefore simultaneously emphasises the speaker's agency and personhood even while giving up his or her own body in a "sacrifyce of ryghteousnesse."

"Then shalt thou be pleased with ye sacrifyce of ryghteousnesse:" Constructing Memory and Memorials in the Title Page of *Actes and Monuments*

Psalm 51 mediates the sinner's sacrifice and bodily suffering within a realm of spiritual cleansing, while evoking a judicial setting. These themes can be seen throughout Foxe's accounts of the martyrs as discussed above. However, Psalm 51 is also indirectly present in the opening page of *Actes and Monuments.* With its presentation of true and false sacrifice, authentic and counterfeit communities of believers, the title page is a visual reworking of the language and themes of this psalm that simultaneously emphasises the reformed tenet of the importance of the laity's access to the scripture (see fig. 1.2). The text of *Actes and Monuments* changed and mutated from printing to printing, creating an almost entirely different text with each edition, but this illustration remained

[163] Whitehead, "*A Poena*," 295.

substantially the same, creating a permanent reminder of the themes woven throughout the larger text. The title page was so integral to the work that it continued to be printed with the text well into the seventeenth century, and was even recut in 1641 when the first set of woodcuts had worn down from printing.[164] Aside from a few passing remarks in scholarly examinations of the *Actes and Monuments*, there has been remarkably little critical analysis of the woodcut. This section will attempt a comprehensive reading of it in the light of Foxe's emphasis on the importance of Psalm 51 to reformed culture.

The page is a large composition of smaller illustrations portraying a journey through Church history. Each corner of this illustration is busy with lines and shapes, attempting to capture sights and sounds in order to transport the reader out of his or her temporal location. The illustration's design begins at the bottom of the page as it travels upward through the not too distant ecclesiastical past, the sixteenth-century present, and the coming future of the Last Judgment. Within this "flattened" view of temporal space, the diagonal and curved lines pull the reader's eye across, up, down, and around. This magisterial, if conflicted, image depicts the message of the tome, of the clash between the redeemed and the damned.[165]

[164] John N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 155. This volume also examines the changes and mutations that occured with each new edition.

[165] James Simpson is one of the few critics to examine this woodcut, albeit briefly. He sees this illustration is an example of Protestants "flattening" history by arguing that their church pre-existed the Roman church. This flattened view adds polemical power to the illustration. Simpson, *Burning to Read*, 205-09.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 1.2 Entire title page of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (John Daye: London, 1570).

The title page in the 1570 edition of the book, printed by John Day,[166] possesses some important additions not present in the 1563 edition. Christ's words from Mathew 25 are used as labels in the header above the two columns. The page is composed of a large, crowded woodcut that frames the changing inscription and title in a box in the center. The page-size illustration is subtly divided into two larger columns, with the columns divided laterally into four further compartments.[167] The left side is labeled "Come ye blessed. &c;" the right column is labeled "Go ye cursed. &c."[168] These tags clearly indicate for the reader the columns belonging to the redeemed and the damned. Just under the heading, in the top center of the page balanced in the middle of the two columns, is the image of Christ Pantocrator, a traditional image often seen in Byzantine art and later in the Renaissance and Mannerist movements. As he balances precariously on the arch just above the globe, he holds up a hand of blessing to those in the left column, the ones who are blessed. The position of his right hand, however, is pointed down, fingers spread, as if he has just discarded those in the right column into darkness and chaos. The all-powerful, risen Christ

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[166] Several scholars now believe that John Day had a hand in commissioning and arranging the woodcut illustrations for *Actes & Monuments*. Some woodcuts were even reprints from previous illustrations by Day. See Ruth Samson Luborsky, "The Illustrations: Their Pattern and Plan" in *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 82; see also James A. Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 132, fn. 25. For general information on the illustrations in *Actes & Monuments* see Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, "'Fayre pictures and painted pageants': The Illustrations of the 'Book of Martyrs'," in *Religion and the Book in Early Modern Enland: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 186-231.

[167] While the title page is divided into segments, they still work together in an overarching design; this design was first seen in the Great Bible (1539). Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550-1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 3.

[168] *A&M* 1570. These borders may be a compositional reference to the popular *Image of Both Churches* by John Bale, printed around 1545. Bale's book, which warns of a coming apocalypse triggered by the abuses in the Roman Catholic Church, see King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture*, 37.

sits on an orb, representing his dominion over the Earth. This depiction of Christ is the only image in *Actes and Monuments* that has a biblical inspiration; the rest of the illustrations are based on the historical narratives within the text.[169]

The clearest demarcation for the vertical columns is found in the lower half of the page. Just below the box of text, a pillar hovers over a grimacing man who stands partially hidden behind two ovals; his naked body provides a vertical marker between the two columns. His hands act as pointers, draped across the scenes in the two bottom ovals, highlighting the two historical scenes featured in these insets. The two large ovals are placed above further column captions in the footer below. The page then finishes with a patterned border encasing the captions.

The captions, and even the illustrations themselves, project the message that Western Christianity can be divided into two camps: the saved and the damned, the true believers and the false. Yet even as it implies a historical breach, the composition actually suggests continuity with medieval Catholicism and the current reforming movements. Foxe's reading of the history of the Church presents not a rejection of the medieval Church, but a reconfiguration. His first several hundred pages trace the history of those who were persecuted during the medieval period, including Thomas Becket as one "we shulde esteem

[169] James A. Knapp has argued that the absence of biblical illustrations allowed the book to be acceptable to the later more vigilant iconoclasts. *Illustrating the Past,* 144. The Christian doctrine of the incarnation argues that Christ was the invisible word made into visible flesh; however, with this pictorial representation of the incarnation, the title page immediately introduces the paradox of presenting the invisible through the visible. Knapp discusses this further: "Incorporating the design of the woodcuts and their relationship to previous (often Catholic) iconographic schemes in its visual vocabulary, this program invites a paradoxical interpretation of the visual page in which the invisible Word is consistently given precedence over the visible world." *Illustrating*, 138.

. . . a martir."[170] Foxe saw the church as a "spirituall not a temporall church" and in his text he traces what he sees as the true church through both the previous centuries and his current time.[171] The title page presents a parallel refocusing of traditional religious visual composition. The organization of the page-sized illustration is reminiscent of the design of medieval altarpieces. The top section (see fig. 1.3) is similar to a diptych altarpiece (cf. fig. 1.4) with two large panels that hinge in the middle (the columns) set atop a predella (the inset ovals and footer), a strip at the bottom of the altarpiece commonly containing scenes from a saint's life or historical events relating to the top panels (cf. fig. 1.6). [172] The artist utilizes this "predella" section to its full polemical effect by labeling the left column "The Image of the persecuted Church," with the right column of the "cursed" labeled as "The Image of the persecutyng Church" (see fig. 1.5). [173] "Image" certainly refers to the pictorial depictions seen in the columns; however, in quite the same sense, it also refers to the almost 2000 pages that will follow, which will include, the image, the semblance, of the persecuted and the persecutor.

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[170] *A&M* (1563), Fiv[v].
[171] ibid.
[172] Tessa Watt argues for "a lively inherited visual tradition" during the sixteenth century. In spite of the destruction of some church accoutrements during the Henrician and Edwardian periods, Watt sees the visual culture continued through other forms of art, including book illustrations. These similarities to the medieval altarpiece would not be surprising with an integration of images rather than a complete destruction of ecclesiastical art. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p. 136-38.
[173] Foxe, *A&M* (1570).

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 1.4 The Wilton Dyptich, National Gallery London.

Please the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 1.5 bottom section of title page.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 1.6 *Perugia Altarpiece* by Fra Angelico, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Preugia, Italy. Notice the predella at the bottom relating the life of St. Nicholas.

By adding page upon page of ecclesiastical history with each subsequent edition, Foxe linked the current martyrs with previous, well-known and time-proven names in Christianity, potrtaying the Protestant church as a unified whole descending through the ages. This tendency towards a perceived unification is also seen in this illustration. The "persecuted Church" can be seen in the bottom oval with its members gathered in a room listening to a preacher, who stands in a raised pulpit (fig. 1.4). The people raise their eyes to the speaker, holding books in their laps, presumably copies of vernacular scripture. In the same room to the right, a smaller group raise their hands in astonishment at an inscription. This inscription is likely designed to bring Daniel 5 to the viewer's mind, the account of the finger of God writing the fate of Nebuchadnezzar on a wall. However, the artist has not created a scene of judgment, but one of approval and revelation.

In the image of the true believers on Foxe's title page, the word revealed above the people, in a circle of light, is the Tetragrammaton, the Hebrew word for God. Those shown in front of the writing on the wall are kneeling with hands raised, in the act of worshipping the text. Present in this square of the true church are two forms of God's approval shown through text—the vernacular Bible on the people's laps and the actual name of God written on the wall. For this artist, the true church is clearly made up of people of the Word, and "treuth in the inward partes."[174] And yet, paradoxically, the presententation of these "people of the Word" is not depicted here in words, but rather through images. Foxe's text has not supplanted the images of the past, rooting them out. Instead, both the compositional design and the historical matter depicted in the bottom tier, are the artist's attempt to link Foxe's logocentric present with the more iconographic past.

This scene may also be designed to recall the problems that continuously troubled image-making and decorations of devotional spaces in the early Tudor period. Under Edward VI's reign, the church authorities enforced a gradually increasing iconoclasm, while words were used more and more as decorations.[175] With Mary turning the helm of the English church back to Catholicism, she reintroduced "the laudable and honest ceremonies" of traditional religion, which included the displaying of saints and other visual decorations.[176] Yet with this reintroduction of images, came the covering up of words: "The Scriptures

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[174] In *A Commentarie Upon the Fiftene Psalmes,* Luther writes, "for that we know thys kind of worship, above all other to please God, when we set forth his word in teaching, in reading, in writing, in hearing. . . . For, to teach, exercise and to set for the worde, what is it else, but continually to offer sacrifice unto God, continually to worship God." John Foxe wrote the preface to this volume. Martin Luther, *A Commentarie Upon the Fiftene Psalmes*, trans.. Henry Bull (London, 1577), ivj[v]. Psalm 51: 6, *The Great Bible* (1539).

[175] Margaret Aston, *Laws Against Images*, vol. 1 of *England's Iconoclasts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 246-276.

[176] Walter Frere and William Kennedy, eds. *Visitation Articles,* 2:327-8.

written on roodlofts and about the churches in London, with the arms of England, was washed out against the feast of Easter in most part of all the parish churches of the diocese of London."[177] As Bible reading was discouraged, the words themselves were to be expunged as well. Interventions such as these underpin the conventional opposition between Protestant logocentricism and Catholic visuality. Foxe's frontispiece, however, reconciles these conflicting impulses by presenting an image that holds up the primacy of God's word.

At first glance, the right oval, "the Image of the persecutyng Church" is strikingly similar. The preacher/priest stands in a raised pulpit with a listening audience below. Women sit in the audience; men listen to the speaker. The design of the pulpit, with its draped cloth down the front, is similar in both scenes. These parallels are precisely the point of Foxe's text. Even the use of the word *image* denotes a false copy of the true item, the persecuted counterpart. The creator of the woodcut recognizes the danger that comes in these similarities and thus supplies labels for each—otherwise the observer may have a hard time picking out the true church. The labels at the bottom of these columns remind the viewer which is the "Image of the persecutyng Church." By examining the two column's similarities, their differences become more pronounced.

The audience before the priest reacts quite differently when examined in comparison to the facing inset. Almost no one is looking at the speaker—some are falling asleep, most look down at their laps. And, quite tellingly, no one has a book; there is no text whatsoever represented in this oval. Instead, they each have a set of rosary beads, with one man clearly praying his beads instead of listening to the speaker. As this oval portrays a recent Catholic past, it is not

[177] *Wriothesley's Chronicle* p. 113-14 qtd in Aston, *Laws Against Images*, 1: 292-293. Other churches followed Bishop Bonner's declaration that "such Scriptures were to be erased from the walls, 'abolished and extinguished forthwith'," see Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, 1:168 qtd. in *Laws Against Images*, 1: 293.

surprising that the Protestant artist would present the beads as the only point of participation for the audience during the service. Carrying beads to church would have been quite familiar for the English readers of *Actes and Monuments*, especially those of the first 1563 edition. Edward VI had issued an injunction in 1547 warning that clergy should not encourage laity "to put their trust in any prescribed number of prayers as in saying over a number of beads." The same item in the injunction links the rosary beads with those who speak Latin and are ignorant of its meaning; both would be symbols of mindless mummery for post-Marian Protestants. [178] Eamon Duffy writes of enforced fines for those not carrying their beads to mass during the Marian reform, less than a decade before this first printing. [179] Just as in the oval on the left, this oval also holds a second scene; on the road behind the listeners is a line of priests in a Corpus Christi procession. For Foxe's Protestant reader, the lack of scripture and the presence of the beads would have been a clear marker of deceit and confusion. The Corpus Christi procession, with its monstrance under the processional tent, would add to the anti-Catholic polemical message as a reminder not only of the alleged idolatry of the Eucharist, but also of clerical hierarchy and a focus on external observances rather than internal devotion.

The middle lateral section (fig. 1.3) continues this division of the persecuted and persecuting church, in an exploration of what marks the veracity of each community: sacrifices. It is here that the structure of the woodcut most obviously touches the themes of Psalm 51. Just above the oval portraying the recent Catholic past rests the arm of a demon. His head can be seen in the small corner between the oval and the next division. With his tongue lolling out, he hides just behind the unwitting clergy kneeling at a celebration of the mass. The

[178] Walter Frere and William Kennedy, eds. *Visitation Articles*, 2:106-107.
[179] *Fires of Faith*, 17.

depiction of the mass seems fairly typical: an altar with a presiding priest is present, as well as attendants to the Eucharist assisting with bells and holy water. The clergy who witness the mass each hold a trumpet, perhaps symbolizing his individual voice. As the priest holds the wafer up, pointing to the topmost square filled with demons and damned souls, the viewers' trumpets point in different directions, leaving the eye with no central viewing point. This disunity implies that the sound is cacophonous, as none play in unity but are rather competing with each other's notes, creating chaos not only for the eyes, but also for the ears. The one thing that seems to unite the kneeling clergy is also the thing that unites them with the on-looking demon—the transformation at the mass. While Protestant reformers may have had differing views on what exactly should (and did) happen at the Eucharist, they almost unanimously agreed with Luther who wrote that, "to offer mass as a sacrifice, and to have anointed and tonsured priests as is now the custom, is nothing else than to slander and deny Christ and to abrogate and remove his priesthood and his law."[180] John Calvin, as discussed above, also discusses the "Papists'" sacrifices in his commentary on Psalm 51. The correct sacrifices are "of God," says Calvin, not "sacrifices of . . . unauthorized fancy" including the Catholic sacraments of penitence and the Eucharist.[181]

This image of a traditional mass, "which they call a sacrifice, [but Protestants would have viewed as] idolatry and a shameful misuse" is contrasted sharply with the adjoining square depicting seven men being burning at the stake.[182] The sacrifice of the Eucharist—what the Catholics would believe is the actual body and blood of Christ—is placed in stark opposition to the

[180]Luther, "The Misuse of the Mass," *LW*, 36:142.
[181] Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2: 305.
[182] Luther, "The Misuse of the Mass," *LW*, 36: 142.

burning sacrifices of the martyrs. Because they have refused to take part in the priest's sacrifice at the altar, the martyrs are now offering their own bodies as a burning “sacrifyce of ryghteousnesse.” This giving of their bodies as a sign of their position as the "Persecuted Church" also recalls the spiritual sacrifice mentioned in Psalm 51: 17: "The sacrifyce of God is a troubled sprete, a broken and a contrite hert." According to this image, their Catholic counterparts put on external evidences of spirituality: they are in front of an altar; they have a religious leader; they are gathered as a church, but in reality they are a false church. The men standing in the undulating flames also hold trumpets, but unlike their Roman counterparts on the opposite side of the page, these dying men hold their trumpets in one direction, pointed towards the seated Christ. Along with pointing, upraised hands, these lines draw the viewer's eye in one sweep upwards. Presumably, as they are all pointed in one direction, they are playing a harmonizing musical message of unity.

Just above the burning men, is a depiction of the future. With a cloud dividing them from the scene below, seven men kneel as they also blow trumpets. Just like their counterparts portrayed in the "present," these also trumpet towards Christ, showing their unity both with each other and with the dying men below. Pictured in heaven, they hold palm branches and crowns, traditional symbols of their martyred status. The peace of the cloud-floating saints contrasts sharply with the discord portrayed in the opposing column. In a chaotic representation of the Last Judgment, demons, complete with wings and horns pull and grab men who can be recognized by their tonsures as Roman clergy, perhaps the same ones celebrating the mass just below. Jagged lightening shoots from above as the clergy attempt to blow their trumpets. This time, not only are they all blowing in different directions; some even scream in torment as

they attempt to voice the sound of their instrument. The souls being tormented by the demons have their trumpets pointing downward to the clergy on the earth, perhaps in a backwards warning to those below. Hovering right above the priest's raised sacrifice of the mass, hangs a devil, his left arm encircling one of the now naked, captured clergy while his mouth hangs open, appearing to accept the wafer itself. This clash of trumpets (or voices) pointed against each other captures the chaos and discord that early modern Protestants often accused Catholicism of. On Earth, the clergy may be kneeling on tasseled pillows as they celebrated the mass, but just beyond a small temporal barrier, they shout in torment as demons invert their Eucharistic sacrifice into a judgment on their soul.

A Graveyard of Pages: The Text as Monument

The title page with its noise-filled, whirlwind of scenes is the first impression that greets the reader of the *Actes and Monuments*. With its composition, paradoxically reminiscent of medieval altarpieces, it is a pictorial miniature of some of the text's main themes of Protestant unity and Catholic disharmony, serene calm and chaotic disorder.[183] Ultimately, this title page is anchored in Psalm 51, with its attending themes of judgment, cleansing, and sacrifice. Within this context, the image juxtaposes two communities, one of true believers and the other of false worshippers. The composition pulls the viewer's eye up to an immanent future, displaying both a historical and prophetic view of the temporal realm. Foxe's text, both through image and words, argues that true

[183]Foxe is not alone in using the title page to complement the message of his book. The Protestants in Germany were some of the first to use title-page iconography as complements to the doctrinal message of their publications, not just illustrations (Corbett and Lightbown, *Comely Frontispiece*, 3).

believers are marked by the correct sacrifice; furthermore, this sacrifice is what brings them together. A return to the last three verses of Psalm 51 bear this out. Verse seventeen focuses on the correct sacrifice made by the individual, but verse eighteen turns the focus to Jerusalem, the community of true believers. Verse nineteen introduces the only plural pronoun in this Psalm: "they" are marked as true believers made up of individuals who make the correct sacrifices The title of Foxe's 1570 edition contains this idea of the sacrificing individual and the unfeigned worship of the community: "the Ecclesiasticall history contaynying the Actes and Monuments of thynges passes in every kynges tyme in this Realme . . . with a full discourse of persecutions, horrible troubles, [and} the sufferyng of martyrs." The book purports to be an account of acts past and a monument to those dead. This compressed perspective of history and present events presented in the title page portrays a unity of the "Image of the persecuted Church" revealing that "each martyr is . . . an individual witness while collectively they keep alive the traditions and beliefs of the church of the elect."[184]

The title of Foxe's work names the text as a perpetual memorial to those who have died. By silent, personal and performative or public reading, the text becomes a living memory. Early modern writers often reiterate the classical idea that a text is a perfect, eternal memorial to those encased forever in its letters.[185] This collection of memorials then serves not only as a remembrance of those dead, but is also a warning to those living, as without it, one "soone may fall into any kinde of errour."[186] Foxe even addresses those who might have participated

[184] Warren Wooden, *John Foxe* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 33.
[185] Mary Sidney's elegiac poem to her brother "Even Now That Care," discussed in Chapter Four, is just one example of an author who writes of the text acting as a lasting memorial to the one who is dead.
[186] *A&M* (1563), DDniv^{r}.

in the deaths recorded when he writes in the preface of the 1563 edition: "that with pacience you wyl reade and peruse the history of these your own actes and doinges, being no more ashamed to reade them now, then you were then to do them, to the entent that when you shal now the better revise what your doings have ben, the more you may blush & detest the same."[187]

Foxe's stated goal for his text is that it be absorbed and rehearsed creating accounts that can be inserted into the collective memory of the reformed community. This was perhaps partially accomplished by the public, ubiquitous appearances of the *Actes and Monuments*. None of the editions were exactly affordable; the final sixteenth-century edition was printed with close to 2000 folio pages.[188] However, the text often appeared in public settings.[189] Recent scholarship has corrected the much repeated, although incorrect idea that every church in England owned a copy of *Actes and Monuments*. While some parish churches did own copies, according to the convocation of Canterbury in 1571, only cathedral churches were required to own and display a complete copy.[190] However, the text was present in public places allowing more people access to it.

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[187] *A&M* (1563), Biv[v]

[188] See C.L. Oastler, *John Day: The Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford: Oxford Biographical Society, 1975), 28, for paper estimates and costs. John N. King estimates that the second edition's value would correspond to about two month's wages of a highly skilled clothworker in London," *Foxe's* Book of Martyrs *and Early Modern Print Culture*, 88-89.

[189] These public readings would sometimes lead to confrontations with antagonistic hearers. Foxe was certainly aware of this possibility; in an appendix, the protests of Justice Drayner of Smarden, called "Justice nyne holes" are recorded. Drayner had stormed into John Day's printing shop demanding, "you have printed me false in your booke." When Day asked Drayner to clarify, Drayner protested, "I made but v. with a great Augure" referring to an account in *Actes and Monuments* where Drayner is recorded as making nine holes in a rood screen. He protested that someone else had drilled the other four holes which were used to spy on the congregation during church services. Foxe treats this demand for accuracy with some humor, labeling it the "the tragedie of one Drayner." Foxe, *A&M* (1576), TTTTti[v].

[190] J.F. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book* (London: SPCK, 1970), 147. See also Leslie M. Oliver, "The Seventh Edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 37 (1943), 245-48.

John King cites at least one copy of *Actes and Monuments* that was kept on display at an Inn in Norwich, through at least King James I's reign.[191] Patrick Collinson mentions that after one particularly lively reading in a church, accusations of slander were brought against the clergyman who had read it from the pulpit.[192] Through these private and public acts of reading, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* would reach a large community of readers, with a long readership into the seventeenth century and beyond, maintaining the presence of this textual monument.[193]

This community of sympathetic readers may have been located in Britain, but the focus of the text was in presenting a community that transcended both temporal and national boundaries. Following William Haller's *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation*, twentieth-century scholarship argued that Foxe intended his work to engender a British nationalism in readers who would concur with an authorial view of the Church limited to the elect of Britain.[194] However, Patrick Collinson and Susan Felch have done further research, arguing that Foxe envisioned a Christian reader whose social-economic background transcended national boundaries.[195] *Actes and Monuments* presents an ecclesiastical history that transcends time, place, and nation, implicitly arguing for a Church that does so as well. Just as Foxe's title page flattens history, so his text flattens the boundaries dividing the members of the

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[191] *Early Modern Print Culture*, 283.
[192] Collinson, "The Veracity of John Foxe," 153-54.
[193] One example of its influence is Cotton Mather's publication of one of the earliest American books, *The Ecclesiastical History of New-England* (1702), which was patterned off of *Actes and Monuments*. John King, *Early Modern Print Culture*, 316.
[194] William Haller, *Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" and the Elect Nation* (London: J. Cape, 1963).
[195] Patrick Collinson, "John Foxe and National Consciousness," in *John Foxe and His World* (Aldergate: Ashgate, 2002), 10-36. Susan Felch, "Shaping the Reader in *Actes and Monuments*," in *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (London: Scolar Press, 1997), 52-65.

Church.[196] For Foxe, his text belonged in a continuous, unbroken line recording and memorializing the story of members of the true Church.

Foxe's "Kalender" is one example of his attempt to a collective witnessing readership. This large, red- and black-inked printing of monthly calendars featured in the 1563 and 1583 editions features martyrs, biblical characters like Mary Magdelene, and historical personages like Martin Luther. May, for example, features Philip and James, the apostles of Christ at the top of the monthly column, but also includes two martyrs known only as "a blinde boye another with hym."[197] Warren Wooden points out that by interspersing familiar Biblical figures with the unknown, the Kalender links the reader's memory of recent martyrs with the long line of notables from ecclesiastical history.[198] Here, Foxe's view of the Protestant church stands in clear relief: where the Roman Catholic church viewed the Eucharist as the marker of one's membership, a martyr's sacrifice becomes the clear marker for Foxe's Christians, the true "Jerusalem."[199] While this monument of text is intended to benefit the living, it also serves as a monument to the dead. Martyrs may have offered themselves as a sacrifice, but there would be no body left to bury. The ashes and burnt bones would be scattered and dispersed, or perhaps mixed with others burnt after them; this text then serves as the grave marker that they would never have.

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[196] Richard Helgerson argues that Foxe viewed his text as a continuation of the church found in the Bible. "The biblical Acts of the Apostles finds its continuation in *Actes and Monuments*, and the prophecies of Revelation are realized here" (276). Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[197] *A&M* (1563).

[198] Wooden, *John Foxe*, 34. Brad S. Gregory points up the intercontinental nature of the *Actes and Monuments*. He argues that because Foxe was an exile, utilized contributors who were not English, and began writing *A&M* while in exile he had a special sense of his work representing a Church that transcended boundaries. *Salvation at Stake*, 167+.

[199] There is a substantial amount of scholarship that sees the Eucharist as creator of the social body. See John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700," *Past & Present* 100 (Aug. 1983): 29-61, and particularly Rubin, *Corpus Christi.*

In Memoriam: Modern Memorials

Near the Farringdon tube stop in London is the still active Smithfield meat market. A large, open warehouse covers an area that has been a center of food trade for centuries. On a sunny afternoon, a visitor can walk through the warehouse with its distributor vans and coolers, and observe deliveries and haggling taking place on a concrete floor that is hosed down regularly, in an attempt to give the warehouse a clean and tidy appearance. In spite of the appearance, the smell of blood from the day's business still hangs in the air. Walking through the meat market is the quickest way to reach the lone patch of grass that remains in the maze of surrounding paved streets—a small part of a once-large field where festivals, markets, and executions took place.[200] Now the minstrels, mummers, executioners, and martyrs are long gone, replaced by benches looking over a quiet patch of grass.

Upon exiting the warehouse, one can see the rear of St. Bartholomew's to the left, once a busy hospital, now functioning as a cancer treatment center. On the wall of St. Bartholomew's is a nineteenth-century monument. Peering through the wrought iron bars, can be read in shiny gold letters on rose marble, "John Rogers, John Bradford, John Philpot and other servants of God suffered by fire for the faith of Christ" (see fig. 1.7). The arch above this inscription reads: "The noble army of martyrs praise thee!" This monument, erected centuries later, is not just a monument to the dead; it is a monument to absence—the martyr's death yielded no *thing*, no body to memorialize. During the sixteenth century,

[200] For a short history of Smithfield, including its connection to the development of theater by its constant rotation of festivals and executions, see Janette Dillon, "Clerkenwell and Smithfield as a Neglected Home of London Theater," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 71 (2008): 115-28.

John Rogers and his fellow martyrs may not have imagined that hundreds of years later, a visitor to a business section in London would be able to wander into this quiet courtyard and contemplate a memorial set up a few feet from where they were burned to ashes.

At their moment of execution, the martyrs knew that there would be nothing left but burnt bones and ashes where their bodies had been. It was up to them to create moments of memory for those in the crowd, for those who were both sympathetic to their cause or those who were antagonistic. Their families would not have the opportunity to grieve at a church service or build tombs in honor of their loved ones. These martyrs were caught in a void. Those dying had no idea how long Mary's reign would last or if England's Catholic trajectory would continue, leading to many more burnings. Their only choice was to use their own actions and words to create a memorial in the temporal space of the viewer's mind. Yet while they were dying for Protestant doctrine, that same doctrine paradoxically urged them to abandon certain forms of traditional memorialization.

With its system of purgatory and prayers for the dead, Catholicism offered the dying rituals of memorialization that could extend quite literally into eternity. Often monuments and tombstones would remind the passerby with the inscription: *orate pro nobis,* to pray for the one buried beneath, so that the deceased's time in Purgatory would be lessened.[201] In contrast, reformed theologians argued that prayers for the dead, as they were not found in the scripture, were useless.[202]

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[201] Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual 1500-1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), 27.

[202] Martin Luther wrote in a letter to Waldensians in Bohemia, "certainly no one is required to believe that there is a purgatory, because God has said nothing about it . . . in this matter we are not commanded either to know or to believe."

fig. 1.7 Modern Smithfield Monument (personal photo, 2010).

Post-reformation English monuments revealed the culture's theological shifts: instead of reminders to pray for the dead, they became points for memory and

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Martin Luther "Adoration of the Sacrament, 1523" in vol. 36 of *LW*, trans. Abdel Ross Wentz, (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 1959, 299.

instruction to the viewer.[203] These monuments focused on changing the destiny of the one viewing the object, rather than the fate of the dead below it. Foxe's account of John Rogers' interrogation provides an example of these two opposing doctrines: "Then, quoth Maister Woodrofe, thou art an hereticke. That shal be knowen, quoth Rogers, at the day of iudgement. Well, quoth M. Woodrofe, I wyll never pray for thee. But I wil pray for you, quoth Maister Rogers."[204] Catholics were told to pray for those in Purgatory (sometimes even those in Hell). For Rogers' Catholic interrogator, Woodrofe, his threat to neglect praying for Rogers, even after his impending death, would have eternal consequences. Foxe's account instead has Rogers replying in a manner reminiscent of Christ's injunction in the Beatitudes: "Praye for the which hurt you and persecute you, that ye maye be the children of your father which is in heaven."[205] Rogers promises to pray for Woodrofe, but before he dies, when he believed his prayers were still effectual.

The Protestant martyrs featured in *Actes and Monuments* held to a theology that did not allow for intercession after death, and were persecuted by a government that deprived them of a funeral and a burial. Yet, they retained the desire to be remembered and memorialized in some way. Some chose to create a performance using a scriptural text, Psalm 51, which would link their sacrifice to to an eternal God, but also to the vision of an eternal community of true believers. Foxe's accounts of these martyrs and their use of the Penitential Psalm allows us to see just how integral and imbedded this grouping was to Protestant culture. This vocalization of scripture served two purposes for the martyr. First, this act witnessed to the martyr's tenacity. Yet, the performance of

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[203] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 28-31.
[204] *A&M* (1570), DDDqi[v].
[205] Matthew 5:44.

a Penitential Psalm focuses on the martyr as a temporal self, dependent upon the active cleansing of a judging God. By quoting passages of scripture, martyrs were aligning themselves with Protestantism in its push to allow access to vernacular Bible reading and also identifying with a lasting, and what they believed to be eternal text. Isaiah 40, often used by Christians as a pointer to the eternality of the Bible, states: "Nevertheles, whether the grasse wyther, or the flour fade away, Yet the word of our God endureth forever."[206] But second, when the martyrs quoted scripture passages, in an act of repurposing and interpretation, they took the written word and placed it in a new context, adapting it to make it their own.[207] This recitation of the text becomes a type of communication; a transference of scriptural words from the martyrs' mind to the viewers' memory to the pages of *Actes and Monuments*, and ultimately to the reader, creating a living monument to both the themes found in the central Psalm and the memory of the martyr.

[206] The Great Bible (1539).
[207] Another example of alignment with scripture and appropriation of the text in *Actes & Monuments* is the prison letters written by some martyrs. These letters conscientiously follow the style and structure of certain Pauline epistles to creating a communal vision of the Church to the reader and linking the sixteenth century writer with the apostles, see John R. Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature, 1563-1694* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 84-95.

CHAPTER II

MOMENTS OF OCULARITY AND MALE EROTICISM IN THOMAS WYATT'S *A PARAPHRASE ON THE PENITENTIAL PSALMS*

In 1508, Wynkyn de Worde published a small volume of sermons written by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. This little volume would be printed through the first half of the sixteenth century in spite of Fisher's execution in 1535 for fostering heresy.[208] Titled in part "the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge [and] prophete in the seuen penytencyall psalms," this volume was published "at the exortacion and sterynge of the moost excellente pryncesse Margarete," mother to Henry VII.[209] Later, Sir Thomas Wyatt would consult this text when writing his poetic paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms. At the start of Fisher's sermons, in the upper left corner of the first page, is an illustration of a man in royal dress looking out a window at a bare-chested woman bathing in an elaborate fountain (see fig. 2.1). Aside from a few decorative initials and crests, this depiction of King David looking at Bathsheba is the only illustration in the small volume. The entire scene is framed in arches and columns as David, in his royal finery, leans out of the window to view the scene below. Turning his head to admire the bathing Bathsheba in the foreground, David seems caught in the act of walking past the window, arrested by what he sees.

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[208] Richard Rex, "Fisher, John [St John Fisher] (*c.*1469–1535)," *DNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9498, accessed 8 Dec 2010] For publication information on Fisher's sermons see Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 226.

[209] John Fisher, *This treatise concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Davyd the kynge prophete in the seven penytencyall psalmes* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1508), AAi^{r}. According to the ESTC this volume would go through at least seven other printings, with two editions, 1509 and 1510, retaining this particular illustration.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 2.1 John Fisher, *This treatise concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Davyd the kynge & prophete in the seven penytencyall psalmes.* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1508), AAii^{r}.

His elbow rests on the window ledge while his left hand is raised to express either surprise or to motion at the bathing woman below. In the opposite corner, Bathsheba bathes in a luxurious fountain surrounded by decorative trees and flowers. She wades in water that comes to her thighs with her hair hanging loose, flowing below her waist, long and wavy. She is not coifed and ready to greet guests, so by depicting her hair hanging loose and unadorned, the artist is further emphasizing the privacy of the scene. Her breasts are exposed, but the engraver has draped a long scarf over her genitals. Nothing in her posture seems to show that she is aware of the royal voyeur behind her; she appears relaxed

and comfortable.[210] The background pictured through the courtyard features a spreading village with several roofs and perhaps a bell tower.

The scene communicates luxury and status, from the garden's three-spouted fountain to the carefully arranged flora surrounding the bathing area. At first glance, the courtyard seems intended as a domestic space, where Bathsheba has the luxury to bathe within its walls, and yet it is not entirely private and closeted. With the royal viewer above her, the space becomes contested and fractured—a space suddenly caught between the public and private because of this intruder. Upon closer examination, there are additional details in the scene's composition that emphasise this confusion. The meticulously arranged plants surrounding Bathsheba's carefully maintained fountain give the impression of a quiet and secluded pool in a wooded area, and yet these items are clearly placed within what appears to be an interior domestic space, complete with windows and tiled floor. This space where the wildness of the outside world has been brought inside the walls creates a spliced image where the exterior cuts into the interior.

Though the frame around the scene hints at arches that enclose the courtyard, creating the suggestion of a closed and private domestic space, these double arches introduce an ambiguity concerning the viewer's place in the scene. Is the viewer looking into the courtyard, through a window as David is? Or are we to imagine ourselves positioned inside the courtyard, within the domestic space? Double arches suggest parallel scenes, each mirroring the other. Indeed, the composition of each half of the illustration is echoed in the other. David,

[210] While this woodcut features a courtyard, most English translations of this section of Scripture describe Bathsheba as bathing on the roof, which would have been a more private area than a courtyard in Ancient Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the tension is still present in the illustration: Bathsheba believes herself to be sheltered within a private space and is unaware of her watcher.

peering out of his window, in the background of the top half of the right arch is echoed by the bathing Bathsheba in the foreground of the left arch. The stone tower in the background of the left arch is mirrored in the stone, tower-like finial crowning the top of the fountain in the foreground on the right. David and Bathsheba are captured in their respective arches, with each turned in the direction of the other, and yet this leads to further confusion for the viewer's perspective. Is the viewer then actually reenacting David's voyeuristic observation by looking into the private space, or is the viewer being included in Bathsheba's domestic circle and thus a victim as well? The viewer's position is fraught with ambiguity, which only adds to the fractured composition of the image. This confusion of interior and exterior space, public and private, domestic and official, seeing and being seen plays up the narrative behind the scene: Bathsheba believes she is inhabiting her own private, protected space. She is absorbed in a routine activity, and sees nothing. The King in contrast walks down a public, exterior walkway in official garb observing everything when he stops to gaze at Bathsheba. While an illustration of a bathing woman gracing the pages of a book of sermons may seem incongruous, the early modern reader of John Fisher's sermons would likely not have been surprised at this choice of illustration. Through a close examination of several artistic interpretations of this narrative, I will open this chapter by showing just how closely the Penitential Psalms were connected with portrayals of the sexual body.

Books containing the psalms, including *Horae* and primers, frequently featured images of David as a musician or a king or in other scenes depicting moments from his life. The episode we have been examining comes from another book, II Samuel 11. The account records David's adultery with Bathsheba and his attempt to cover-up the act which ultimately results in David

arranging for the murder of her husband, who was one of David's soldiers. After David's murder of Uriah and subsequent marriage to Bathsheba, Nathan the Prophet confronts him, denouncing David's immorality and abuse of power. II Samuel reports David's ensuing grief and repentance, which commentators and Christians have long seen as the inspiration for certain repentant passages in the psalms, particularly Psalm 51. As early as the ninth century, illustrations of David and Bathsheba can be found linked with the grouping of the Penitential Psalms.[211]

Illustrations of the watching David and the bathing Bathsheba would grow in popularity throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, continuing to be published in more and more volumes, including privately commissioned *Horae*.[212] Clare L. Costley King'oo's article, "David, Bathesheba, and the Penitential Psalms" is the only one to date that studies the David and Bathsheba illustrations in connection to the Penitential Psalms. As King'oo's article is the only one of its kind, I must give her due credit for calling my attention to this composition's iconographic history. Though I use several of the same texts and illustrations in this chapter, I examine their individual composition in more detail and explore them in connection to themes of occularity, using a critical framework that pays particular attention to the eroticism present both in the images and the viewer's position in relation to the image.

One of the texts to feature this illustration was The *Hore beate virginis Marie,* which was one of the most commonly printed book of hours at the start of the sixteenth century; it included an illustration of David watching the bathing

[211] Clare L. Costley King'oo, "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57:4 (Winter 2004): 1235-37.
[212] John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 29 and King'oo, "David, Bathsheba," 1255-1261.

Bathsheba at the start of the Penitential Psalms.[213] This narrative connection was likely only increased with the publication of The Great Bible in 1539, where a version of the scene appears twice in connection with the Book of Psalms.[214] The Great Bible is divided into several sections, with each section demarcated by a full title page. Around the section's title page run small illustrations, one illustration representing each following book (fig. 2.2). The illustration for the Book of Psalms is a depiction of David and the bathing Bathsheba. As King'oo also notes in her article, this image is present in II Samuel 11, where it illustrates the narrative, but the use of it here as a metonym places the entire Book of Psalms within a sexually tinged context.[215] The 1541 (fig. 2.3) printing of the Great Bible continue this connection by replicating the same scene in the sectional break that includes the Book of Psalms and also at the start of the book itself. [216] The Coverdale version of the Psalter printed in 1540 includes the same illustration at the start of the psalms that is used on the section title page of the 1539 Great Bible (see fig. 2.4).

While the composition may vary, some charecteristics remain the same. David is consistently depicted in the act of gazing upon Bathsheba. The viewer of these illustrations would be expected to fill in the events that would follow this representation of the male gaze: David would sin by abusing his power in

[213] *Hore beate virginis Marie* (Paris: Nicholas Higman, 1520). This text's English history is discussed in Duffy, *Stripping*, 227-8.
[214] For more information on the illustrations of The Great Bible, including its famous title page by Hans Holbein depicting Henry VIII as King David see Daniell, *The Bible*, 205-8. *A Guide* also contains information on the Great Bible's illustrations, see Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603* (Tempe, AZ : Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 100.
[215] King'oo, "David, Bathsheba," 1240.
[216] Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide*, 99. See King'oo, "David, Bathsheba," 1239-40 for a historical background on these two sets of engravings, including their continued afterlife in other texts.

summoning his subject, Bathsheba, to fulfill his sexual desires, and he would then commit murder to try to cover it up.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

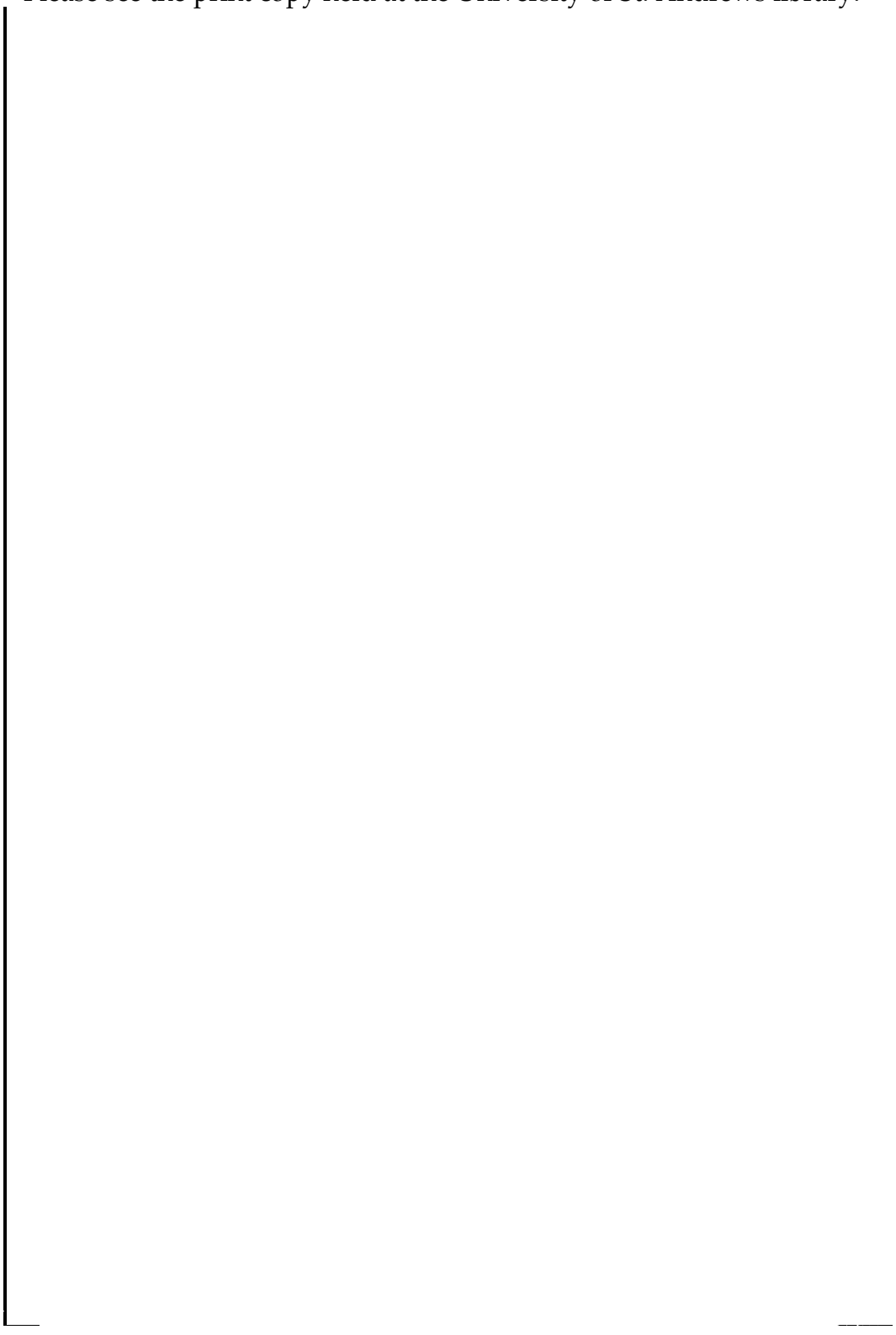

fig. 2.2 *The Byble in Englyshe*, 1539 AAi [r].

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 2. 3 *The Byble in Englyshe* (London: Richard Grafton, 1541), Aaii^{r}.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 2.4 Miles Coverdale, *The Psalter or boke of Psalmes both in Latyn and Englyshe. wyth a kalender, & a table the more eassyer and lyghtlyer to fynde the psalmes contayned therin.* (London, 1540), Ai^{v}-Aii^{r}.

Linking David's gaze, which initiates his encounters with Bathsheba, with the recitation or reading of the Penitential Psalms provides a pictorial *exempla* illustrating the doctrine of sin. Claire Costley King'oo argues that illustrations focusing on David's sin towards Bathsheba instead of Uriah's murder make forbidden sexual activity representative for all sin. [217] By printing this illustration on the sectional pages in copies of the Bible, entire books of the Old Testament are then thrown under a shadow of sexual transgression.

[217] King'oo, "David, Bathsheba," 1247. King'oo points out that some illustrations of Uriah's death exist, but they are marginal compared to more traditional David and Bathsheba composition.

Intended to evoke a story of adultery, murder, repentance and restoration, these illustrations may be meant to illustrate spiritual truths, yet the portrayal of this scene complicates the viewer's interpretation, leaving the illustrations consistently compromised. Certainly, narrative tension is obtained: King David is caught in the act of seeing and lusting after a woman who is his subject's wife—the doubly forbidden object. And yet the very presence of David in the scene problematizes the image. Because they depict a nude woman and her male watcher, these illustrations foster "erotic expressions that transgress the bounds of the text."[218] The viewer of the illustration is placed in a contested position. As the viewer looks at the scene, will he or she watch David? Or is the viewer more likely to follow David's gaze, replicating David's action in viewing the bathing Bathsheba? Unlike King'oo's article, which focuses primarily on the historical development and printed appearances of this illustration, I will use them as a way to examine the problematic, erotic themes present both in the illustrations and Wyatt's version of the Penitential Psalms.

Erasmus recognized this problematic complication of the viewer and the direction of the viewer's gaze when he criticized the replication of this scene to illustrate texts or as decorations in churches. In "The Institution of Christian Matrimony," he contrasts the traditional Christian view of monogamous, marital sexual behavior with accounts of the Greek and Roman gods' sexual proclivities. Criticizing the classical deities for their licentiousness he writes:

> Thanks be to God that our worship contains nothing that is unchaste and impure! But this makes it all the more sinful when people introduce

[218] Max Engammare, "La Morale ou la Beauté? Illustrations des Amours de David et Bethsabée (II Samuel 11-12) dans les Bibles des XV^e^-XVII^e^ Siècles." In *La Bible imprimée dans l'Europe moderne* ed. Eugene Schwarzbach (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999), 447-76. Translation in King'oo, fn. 62.

> indecency into subjects that are by nature innocent. . . . Why is it necessary to have certain stories depicted in church at all? . . . Why David watching Bathsheba from his window and summoning her to be defiled? . . . The subjects are indeed taken from the holy books, but why has so much artistic license been used to depict the women? There are things surrounding the altars where the Eucharist is performed that would not be allowed into any decent home.[219]

According to King'oo, Erasmus seems to be the only one of his contemporaries who recognized the problematic undertones inherent to the protrayal of this scene.[220] And yet the images themselves provide a coherent body of evidence for an early modern determination to explore this aspect of the story. Erasmus' presence as the sole commentator upon this illustrative practice does not lesson the erotic themes inherent to the scene. His concerns are clear: the reader of sermons or the church-goer in the pew could potentially reproduce David's sin of lust through viewing the composition, injecting a sinister element into what should be a chaste experience of worship. Erasmus' concern then is that the viewer will redouble David's lustful gaze. And yet he himself is replicating the basic scenario depicted—Erasmus is redoubling David's gaze as he imagines the private, interior space of "any decent home."

Erasmus fears that the viewer will be implicated in David's sin. These engravings seem designed to do just that by pulling the viewer into the scene through the knowledge of what will follow David's act of gazing. Seeing the male David gazing upon the bathing Bathsheba, the viewer who knows the narrative will recognize that David is about to perform an act of sexual and political aggression that will eventually end in a violent murder. In a sense,

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[219]Desiderius Erasmus, "The Institution of Christian Matrimony," in *The Collected Works of Erasmus: Spiritualia and Pastoralia*, eds. John W. O'Malley and Louis A Perraud (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 69: 430.
[220] King'oo, "David, Bathsheba," 1263.

David's gaze begins a process of absorption and digestion, wearing away Bathsheba's agency as a separate human being, a process that doesn't stop until he has transgressed cultural and social boundaries in possessing her. David's presence in the scene introduces a consistent and compelling interplay between the absorption of the self in interior contemplation and the absorption of a female object under the gaze of the other. When David is pictured in the scene, the subject position of the viewer is consistently fluid. Is Bathsheba eye-candy for the viewer as well, or is the viewer intended to identify with Bathsheba who is on the verge of being harmed?

The dangers inherent to this scene and the complexity of the Fisher volume's treatment of it stand out more sharply when an artistic comparison is made. Rembrandt van Rijn's version of the scene, created over a century after Fisher's sermons were printed, features only the bathing Bathsheba with a barely noticeable female servant in the foreground (see fig. 1.6). In a typically Northern surrounding of lush and comfortable domestic textiles, a curvaceous Bathsheba sits bathed in light, comfortable and unaffected. She holds what appears to be a letter and arches her eyebrows slightly, her chin lowered, perhaps in surprise at the letter's contents.[221] Without the presence of the male David, there is no "menace, no transference, . . . no dependence, no authority."[222] Instead, she appears merely as a woman bathing. And yet her lavish surroundings and complete ease in this luxurious ritual subtlety communicate an elevation in

[221] In an article examining this painting, Ernst van de Wetering studies its technical and material make-up and argues that Rembrandt actually changed the position of Bathsheba's head to point her gaze in a downward position thus giving a more convincingly melancholic (and I would add, self-absorbed) pose. Ernst van de Wetering, "Rembrandt's Bathsheba: The Object and Its Transformations," in *Rembrandt's Bathsheba Reading King David's Letter*, ed. Anne Jensen Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 27-46.

[222] Hélène Cixous and Catherine A. F. MacGillivray, "Bathsheba or the Interior Bible," *New Literary History* 24 (Autumn, 1993): 820-836.

social status that Rembrandt's contemporary viewer would have recognized. She is shown completely absorbed in a moment of interiority, as her thoughts remain hidden behind her own inscrutable face.[223] "Rembrandt presents her to us not as an anonymous object of male desire but as an individual who is experiencing her own subjectivity."[224] The artist uses small indications like the downward look of her gaze and the loosely held piece of paper to endow the figure with an introspection that almost negates the servant's presence as Bathsheba's entire countenance projects an absorption unconcerned with her physical surroundings.[225] Rembrandt turns the external viewer's gaze on the woman, not the man in the act of gazing at the woman.

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[223] Mieke Bal similarly argues that the potential for an erotic image is present in Rembrandt's Bathsheba because of her unawareness of the viewer and her own introspection. Bal examines the erotic nature of Rembrandt's painting, arguing that there is some ambiguity because of the textuality introduced into the composition by the presence of the letter. Mieke Bal, "Reading Bathsheba: From Mastercodes to Misfits," *Rembrandt's Bathsheba Reading*, 119-146.

[224] Ann Jensen Adams "Introduction: Perspectives on Rembrandt and his Works," in *Rembrandt's Bathsheba Reading King David's Letter*, ed. Ann Jensen Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 10.

[225] Michael Fried writes about this "invention of absorption" utilized by painters in the Western tradition, particularly those in the School of Caravaggio. "Viewers confronted with certain sorts of outwardly almost wholly inexpressive figures—figures who are outwardly inexpressive in certain distinctive ways—spontaneously . . . read that lack of outward expression as an unmistakable sign of intense inwardness and sheer depth of feeling" (77). The viewer will interpret the subject's (particularly a female subject's) "minimal physiognomic and gestural" indicators as an intense inwardness. The viewer will then project this inwardness as part of his or her own self as well. The woman's "seeming obliviousness to being beheld" further corroborates this interpretation as the viewer will project an authenticity to her actions that the viewer believes is in inherit in his or her own self-absorption (78). Michael Fried, "The Invention of Absorption" in *The Moment of Caravaggio*, The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 69-98.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 2.6 Rembrandt Harmensz Van Rijn, *Bathsheba at her Bath*, 1654, Musée du Louvre.

Once a male viewer is introduced to the scene, Bathsheba is no longer a woman participating in a domestic ritual, but an object being gazed upon. Erasmus does not criticize depictions of the solitary nude Eve as being problematic. Rather it is the presence of the male gaze that Erasmus draws our attention to: "David watching Bathsheba." But consider what happens when Bathsheba is aware of being watched. Two artistic interpretations of this scene, though centuries apart, illustrate opposed models for how this scenario can play itself out. The first example is the illustration printed in the 1541 edition of the

Great Bible (see fig. 1.4). At the start of the Book of Psalms, King David is shown leaning out of an upper story window, looking toward Bathsheba. Here though there is an addition of a male messenger. The messenger tips his cap to a naked Bathsheba who is no longer bathing in a secluded courtyard, but is now in an exposed place, in what appears to be a very public fountain. While she does hold a draped cloth covering her genitals, her breasts are still exposed. Unlike the Bathsheba pictured in the text of Fisher's sermons who partially covers herself with her arm, this Bathsheba throws both arms open to thrust her hips forward in a seductive pose as she gracefully reaches to take the letter from the messenger. The Great Bible's illustration is of a Bathsheba who is completely aware of her male viewers. The psychological complexity found in the illustration of Fisher's texts is no longer present. The Fisher engraving complicates the viewer's position in part through the ambiguous space it creates, which is not pictured in the Great Bible's self-displaying Bathsheba.

This bathing Bathsheba, with her bare breasts thrusting forward in a self-aware pose, becomes merely an object on display. With the addition of the servant, the composition introduces ideas of servitude and mastery,placing David in relation to Bathsheba as a servant because of his bodily desires. Consider this image in conjunction with an analysis by one of the foremost modern theorists of the male gaze:

> She is isolated, glamorous, on display, sexualised. . . . Thus the woman as icon, displayed for the gaze and enjoyment of men, the active controllers of the look, always threaten to evoke . . . anxiety [which can result in] fetishistic scopophilia, build[ing] up the physcial beauty of the object, transforming it into something satisfying in itself."[226]

[226] Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (London: MacMillan Press, 1989), 21.

When Bathsheba is aware of her watchers she is no longer an erotic image, but rather an object in danger of becoming fetishized. This depiction of a Bathsheba who engages in a sexually domineering interaction with the subservient male messenger illustrates what both Erasmus and the feminist critic Laura Mulvey point up as problematic in illustrations of the narrative: how does the external viewer look at this scene without re-enacting David's look and turning Bathsheba into an object of fetishistic desire which must be conquered and possessed by the male gaze? By adding David and the external viewer, Bathsheba becomes fetishsized as the object of group perusal and examination.

This trajectory of a fetishsized, yet sexually powerful Bathsheba reaches its zenith in a second example: a 1951 film version of the account starring Gregory Peck as David and Susan Hayworth as Bathsheba. While the goat's hair beards, the painted curtain-cum-sets, and the anachronistic Star of David accessories are certainly distracting, this movie's production still serves to emphasise the historical interest in this iconic scene of David's gaze upon the bathing Bathsheba. The film, surprisingly nominated for five Oscars, focuses on David's relationship with "the woman for whom he broke God's commandment" or so the narrator's words in the trailer declare. Director Henry King's interpretation of David is of a lonely, misunderstood man who "can never find a woman to please him." After an argument with a head-strong Michal, his first wife, David walks out onto his roof where he sees Bathsheba. Bathsheba later declares that she bathed on the roof to catch his eye, to "please him" (see fig 2.7). With her dialogue intentionally echoing David's not-so-subtle language, Bathsheba is set up as the temptress who knows exactly how to trap the King. The film focuses on Bathsheba's ability to reinforce his masculinity and fulfill his sexual desires; she schemes and encourages David to free her from her loveless

marriage with a frigid Uriah.[227] Bathsheba, with her sexual prowess and willingness to please David, is the ultimate object to be obtained, possessed, and captured to complete David's image as the masculine king. After David and Bathsheba's multiple sexual encounters, Nathan the Prophet blames Bathsheba for the ensuing natural disasters, saying: "she has brought the wrath of God." Because she asserts sexual power over David, she must in turn be controlled and possessed. Traditionally both Jewish and Christian commentary has seen David as the aggressor, but Susan Hayward's 1951 interpretation of the cunning Bathsheba portrays her, not David, as the sexually aggressive partner of a consenting relationship. She now gazes at David as an object. Bathsheba is the one seeking possession; and she is all the more an object of sight as a result.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 2.7 Susan Hayward as Bathsheba looking up at David on the palace veranda in *David and Bathsheba* (1951).

[227] Henry King, *David and Bathsheba*. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 1951.

These two examples, the 1541 engraving of Bathsheba bathing in view of the male messenger and the 1951 cinematic version, conform to Mulvey's analysis of the gendered view of the viewer/possessor and the viewed/object schematic. However, the illustration mentioned at the start of this chapter, found in Fisher's sermons (fig. 2.1), proves to be subtler and more disturbing in its interplay between the viewer and the viewed. The Fisher illustration introduces more fluidity into the subject position of the viewer. The viewer's place in relation to the illustration becomes even more contested as the identificatory possibilities open up. Does the viewer replicate David's possesive gaze from the window? Is the viewer in the courtyard and thus enfolded into David's gaze just as the naked Bathsheba is? Or is there a third option that collapses both of these points of view in the viewer's own absorption of the self into the illustration as he or she becomes both the viewer and the viewed? The fluidity of the subject position of the viewer compliments the interplay between the absorption of self, displayed in the meditative position of Bathsheba, and David's absorption in observing the other (Bathsheba) pictured in this provocative scene.

I have opened with this tradition of visual representation in part as a way of suggesting how, in early modern culture, the Penitential Psalms were repeatedly implicated in scenarios of sexuality, in which the intense subjectivity of penitence is inextricably bound up with representations of a sexual body. The illustrations examined above reveal particular elements of exchange and absorption, between the viewer (both the one in the illustration and the one outside of the frame) and the woman being viewed. These instances of dialogue are often erotic and question the supposed spiritual nature of this illustration. I have examined these images and themes in order to prepare the way for a discussion of Thomas Wyatt's treatment of this same involvement with sexual-

based ocularity. Though *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms* may be a different medium, it is still marked by a shared focus on the male gaze as a crucial structural device. This chapter attempts to take *A Paraphrase* within its visual and literary context, while examining the various sexual power dynamics present in these devotional poems. In addition to the paraphrastic sections within *A Paraphrase*, I will also examine the narrative framework around the poems. Though they are not specifically part of the psalms, these insertions function much like the previously examined illustrations: as paratexts that make up the surrounding apparatus, influencing the reader's perceptions of Wyatt's poems. Unlike previous critical readings of Wyatt's poem, which tend to be either strictly biographical or structural, this chapter will excavate the complex interactions surrounding the gaze and the way that these open the representations of sexual bodies revealing the complexities of these paraphrastic psalmic poems.

The Italian Pornographer and the English Devotionalist: The Origins of *A Paraphrase of a Penitent Sinner*

The earliest copy of *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms* can be found in British Library Egerton MS 2711. The manuscript as a whole is quite cluttered by the markings of other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers who scrawled their way through the margins using all available space for everything from farm inventories to mathematical proofs.[228] The manuscript features *A Paraphrase*

[228] As this manuscript is not available in facsimile and the original is quite difficult to read, I will be using R. A. Rebholz's scholarly, edited version of Wyatt's poems throughout this chapter. Thomas Wyatt, "A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms" in *The Complete Poems*, ed. R. A. Rebholz (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 194-216.

along with several other poems. Quite a few of these were likely written in Wyatt's hand and some show evidence of editing in the same hand, which may mean that Wyatt was composing them in the manuscript book. James Powell has made a convincing argument that this manuscript was being prepared by Wyatt for publication.[229] *A Paraphrase* was the first of Wyatt's work to be printed, though posthumously, in an octavo entitled *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David, commonly called the .vii. penytentiall psalmes* (1549).[230]

A Paraphrase continues the textual and visual tradition surrounding the Penitential Psalms that grounds itself in patterns of absorption and psychological introspection similar to those discussed with the illustrations above. Yet in *A Paraphrase*, Sir Thomas Wyatt, while using elements similar to these traditional illustrations, introduces a surprising innovation. Within the narrative framework of *A Paraphrase*, David is less the subject who looks at Bathsheba, then he is the object of others' gazes. Instead, Wyatt introduces a circuit of male gazes and exchanges that creates a slippery interaction between the characters, and ultimately between David and his God. The direction(s) of David's gaze will be examined as a key point in the revelation and development of David's psycho-sexual anatomy. A few critics have mentioned the intense sexuality present in the poems, but most have read it through a biographical lens, attributing this theme to events in Wyatt's life. I will instead pay close

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[229] James Powell, "Thomas Wyatt's Poetry in Embassy: Egerton 2711 and the Production of Literary Manuscripts Abroud," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67 (June 2004): 262.

[230] Thomas Wyatt, *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David, commonly called the .vii. penytentiall psalmes* (London: Thomas Raynard, 1549). In a recent essay, Stewart Mottram argues that *Paraphrase* was not published until 1549 because of the capricious legalizations of and prohibitions against Bible reading during Henry's reign. See "Translation, Paraphrase, and Wyatt's *Penitential Psalms:* Englishing Scripture in Late Henrician England" in *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300-1500*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 17, ed. Elisabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2011), 147-167.

attention to Wyatt's portrayal of David through the progression of the poems. I will examine the verbal fascination with the sexual act and the male body as Wyatt uses erotic language to propel David along a spiritual path of introspection and psychological development. As David's gaze shifts and the erotic tension gets redirected, David's conception of his own sexuality fluctuates, along with the direction and object of his gaze.

A Paraphrase, like most of Thomas Wyatt's poetic canon, in part, is a reinterpretation of a continental style of poetry. While this sequence has always been read separately from his secular poetry, it is a similarly dynamic experiment in poetic form and tradition. Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557) contains ninety-seven poems attributed to Wyatt, including his reworkings of Petrarch's erotic poetry into English.[231] *Songes* went through multiple editions in the later half of the century and is subsequently the work that many critics look to as they examine Wyatt's influence on the sixteenth century lyric.[232] Because of this experimentation with continental styles, he is often seen as a "reformer" changing the course of English lyrical poetry by elevating English style and form. This idea first appeared in a 1589 volume, *The Arte of English Poesie*, where George Puttenham argued that Thomas Wyatt's poetic endeavors focused primarily on bringing continental literary influences to England's reading elite.

> Sir Thomas Wyat th'elder & Henry Earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who having travailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italiá Poesie as novices newly crept

[231] Nicholas Grimald, Henry Howard, and Thomas Wyatt, *Songes and Sonnettes* (London: Richard Tottel, 1557). For more information on Wyatt's humanism and adaptations of Petrarch see Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982).
[232] Hyder E. Rollins and Herschel Clay Baker, eds. *The Renaissance in England: Non-Dramatic Prose and Verse of the Sixteenth Century* (1954; repr. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1992), 194.

> out of the schooles of Dante Arioste and Petrarch, they greatly pollished out rude & homely maner of vulgar Poesie, from that it had bene before, and for that cause may justly be sayd the first reformers of our English meeter and stile.[233]

It is in this tradition that Wyatt's religious poetry also belongs: *A Paraphrase* is innovative and influential—it too adapts a continental source, much like Wyatt's other poems. Hannibal Hamlin has argued that Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* was so influential to the tradition of Renaissance Psalm writing and the practice of *imatatio* that without Wyatt's version of the Penitential Psalms, later poets, such as the Sidneys and John Milton, might never have attempted a free-form psalmic paraphrase.[234]

As Rivkah Zim has so clearly shown, the early modern writer who chose the paraphrastic art form was expected not to merely make a verbatim translation, but to create "a new work" where the author "'spoke alongside' that of the original author, representing his own understanding of the sense of the *exemplar propositum* in his own words."[235] With this artistic theory in mind, every paraphrase becomes "a re-creation or a transposition, but never a reproduction." Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* is the result of a well-read and knowledgable author who utilizes several original sources to create a new work, complete with rhyming schemes that were still new to England. David's voice is in *terza rima* while the

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[233] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), Hiv[r].
[234] Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 112. Hamlin also argues that Wyatt's narrative framework may have influenced George Gascoigne's paraphrase of one of the Penitentials, Psalm 130, in his *Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* (1573). Gascoigne's paraphrase appears in this volume with a narrative insert explaining the personal circumstances surrounding the paraphrase's composition, and, Hamlin believes, figuring Gascoigne as a David character (113-5).
[235] Zim, *English Metrical*, 15.

third person narrative interludes are primarily in *ottava rima*, indicating Wyatt's familiarity with continental poetry.

A large number of sources both English and continental influenced Wyatt's composition, but the main source of inspiration was Pietro Aretino's prose version of the Penitential Psalms, *I Sette Salmi de la penitentia di David*.[236] *I Sette* was not translated and published in English until 1635, when it was printed in the Catholic stronghold of Douai to be shipped into England, therefore it is likely that Wyatt was exposed to Aretino's early work as well as the *terza rima* and *octava rima* forms when he was on diplomatic missions in Italy in the 1520's[237]*A Paraphrase* takes its narrative frame and descriptive interludes from Aretino's own prose descriptions of David and the imagined Jerusalem. Within the third person narrative frame, Wyatt's *Paraphrase* remains closely focused on David's internal, meditative voice, unlike other paraphrastic psalmic works of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, which were primarily exhortive.[238]

Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) was a complex and cunning writer who was often accused of being an evil sexual deviant by his Italian contemporaries. Raymond B. Waddington discuses Aretino's complicated reputation for sexual deviancy: "In a 1527 sonnet he [Aretino] proclaimed, 'Let it be clearly made known to everyone / How Isabella Sforza has converted / Aretino from that which he was born, a sodomite' . . . The image he chose to present to the

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[236] Pietro Aretino, *I Setti Salmi de la penitentia de David* (Vinegia: Marcolini, 1536). For a listing of sources see Rebholz, *Complete Poems*, 452-3. For an in-depth examination, see H.V. Baron, "Sir Thomas Wyatt's Seven Penitential Psalms: A Study of Textual and Source Materials." (PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1977).

[237] Pietro Aretino, *Paraphrase upon the seaven pententiall psalmes*, trans. John Hawkins (Douai: G. Pinchon, 1635). Lily B. Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1959), 35, 38.

[238] Twombly points this out in relation to Fisher's paraphrastic sermons, which "wander far indeed from the thoughts of the man David." Robert G. Twombly, "Thomas Wyatt's Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms of David," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* (Fall: 1970), 348.

world . . . was that of a sexual omnivore with a voracious appetite."[239] Aretino was famous for his biting wit and prolific lusts. He converted Giulio Romano's engravings (1524) of various sexual positions into "speaking pictures," composing poetry for each one: "The engravings were then copied and published with the sonnets. . . . 'Aretine's Postures' thereafter became a byword for pornography."[240] An example of Aretino's explicit tastes comes from one of his pamphlets where he praised the human body, writing, "What harm is there in seeing a man mount a woman? Should beasts, then, be freer than we are? We should wear *that thing* [the penis] nature gave us for the preservation of the species on a chain around our necks or a medal on our hats."[241] Aretino's sexual tastes were not only expressed in his written texts, but also spilled over into the art he commissioned as well, including a medal containing a self-portrait of himself on one side, with a satyr composed of phalluses on the reverse.[242]

Aretino's *I Setti Salmi* begins and ends with a narrative frame around prose versions of the Penitentials. This framing of the text within the David and Bathsheba story links Aretino, the devotional writer, with the pornographic Aretino as it embeds the Penitential Psalms within a sexually explicit narrative. In contrast, Wyatt's *Paraphrase*, begins with a poetic narrative frame, but lacks the ending needed to complete the story's frame, with the last lines being

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[239] Raymond B. Waddington, *Aretino's Satyr: Sexuality, Satire, and Self-Projection in Sixteenth-Century Literature and* Art (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004) 9.
[240] Raymond B. Waddinton, "Rewriting the World, Rewriting the Body," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500-1600*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 292.
[241] Lynne Lawner, ed. and trans. *I Modi. The Sixteen Pleasures* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Pres, 1988), 9. For information on Aretino's erotic writing and the influence they had on other English writers, see Ian Frederick Moulton, "'Courtesan Politic': The Erotic Writing and Cultural Significance of Pietro Aretino," in *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 119-157.
[242] Waddington, *Aretino's Satyr*, 109-111.

Wyatt's final lines of Psalm 143. As the poetic narrative progresses, his material moves further and further away from *I Sette Salmi* marking it more and more as Wyatt's own imaginative work.[243] The sixteenth-century printed editions of *A Paraphrase* also show the creation of a new work, particularly in the different formatting present on the pages. In Wyatt's work, the Latin titles for each of the Penitential Psalms mark out David's parts in the first person as he "sings" the Psalms, which are interspersed with a third person narrative. Aretino's Italian printed edition looks strikingly different on the page; it does not mark out David from the Narrator; instead, his text is one long unbroken section of prose. The Italian text assumes a certain amount of knowledge on the part of the reader who must be able to mark out and distinguish the separate Psalms.

Speculating on the intricate social, political, or spiritual reasons for Aretino's turn to devotional prose in *I Setti* Salmi is beyond the scope of this chapter. What is far more interesting, however, is that he *did* write a piece that was so influential as to be picked up by Wyatt. Aretino's prose in his version of the Penitential Psalms can be described as emotional, gilded, baroque, and decidedly Catholic.[244] At several points, Aretino's David speaks much like a well-schooled sixteenth-century Catholic. In this example, David reminds God that if he is allowed to live long enough, his acts of penance will surely win back God's grace and favour.

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[243] For more on Wyatt's movement away from Aretino's source, see Elizabeth Heale, *Wyatt, Surrey and Early Tudor Poetry* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 161; Zim *English Metrical Psalms* p. 44; Rebholz, *Complete Poems*, 453-4.
[244] For an examination of Italian influences on Wyatt's canon, including Petrarch and Aretino, see Robin Kirkpatrick, *English and Italian Literature from Dante to Shakespeare: A Study of Source, Analogue and Divergence* (London: Longman, 1995), 126-140.

> Should my dayes prove long, which thou lendest me to live, I should truely hope that sack cloath, teares, sorrow, watching, fasting would obtaine, yea winne so much in my behalfe, that thy grace would shower on me, in such manner that I should be received no otherwile then as they are, who through their truely humbling themselves have returned into thy grace, their peace so made.[245]

By contrast, Wyatt's David consistently pleads for mercy, asking God,

> Chastise me not for my deserving
> According to thy just concieved ire. (ln. 81-82)

David "spread[s his] . . . fault" before God, begging that "the harm of [his] excess" be forgiven, because he is "clean without defence" (ln. 86, 90, 93).

Latin and Italian, prose narrative and biblical commentary, Catholic and Protestant sources, including The Coverdale Bible of 1535 (discussed earlier in this chapter) and texts by Johannes Campensis and William Tyndale: all of these seemingly disparate sources are funneled into one text to create a multi-faceted, innovative, and creative poetic paraphrase. Thomas Wyatt redirects each of these sources to create a unified, poetic narrative that re-imagines the biblical account of David and Bathsheba while bringing in elements present in the visual tradition of the story as well. By redirecting themes and messages found in Aretino, Wyatt metaphorically performs the same task that his character David will when he redirects his sexual energy: Aretino's text is blended with Protestant sources producing a decidedly new work. Wyatt re-forms Aretino

[245] Aretino, *Paraphrase*, 16.

through paraphrastic translation and modified literary forms. The result is a paraphrastic sequence that introduces unique rhyme schemes and a re-directed sexuality underpinned with a modified Protestant theological framework.

Previous Literary Readings of *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms*

Historically, many literary critics have followed Wyatt's contemporary poet, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey in approaching *A Paraphrase* from a biographical or political point of view, often using the religious nature of Wyatt's source texts to bolster the argument for a penitential, authorial reading. This critical view sees the character of David as a thinly veiled allegory of Wyatt's own life, particularly with reference to his estranged wife and his long-term relationship with his mistress, Elizabeth Darrell.[246] Further, some critics assume that because Psalms were often read and written about by those in prison in the sixteenth century, Wyatt's selection must reflect some personal political turmoil. H.A. Mason prefers this type of theory writing that "even on a superficial reading, it is clear that the Psalms . . . refer to Wyatt's circumstances at a time when he was threatened by enemies and feared the prospect of death."[247]

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[246] Wyatt wrote in a letter to his newly married son in 1537 that his marriage had not been a happy one: "And the blissing of god for good agrement between the wife and husband is fruyt of many children, which I for the like thinge doe lack." See the untitled letter in *Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. Kenneth Muir (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1963), 41. Wyatt had been estranged from his wife, Elizabeth Broke, for almost a decade at the time this letter was written (Muir, *Life*, 211). Greg Walker sees the erotic language and penitence in the poems as evidence that Wyatt wrote the *Paraphrase* out of regret over his affair with Darrell or for the relationship Wyatt may have had with Anne Boleyn. (*Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 351.

[247] Mason, *Humanism*, 203.

Attempts to read an allegorical relationship between Wyatt and David, often lead critics to search the text for Wyatt's confessional beliefs. H. A. Mason argues that *A Paraphrase* was written so that Wyatt could "express with an individual voice his own religious feelings."[248] Various critics also point out their assumption that merely in the act of writing the poems, Wyatt was enacting a penitential ritual for personal sin.[249] Certainly as *A Paraphrase* progresses, the poetry moves further away from Aretino's prose version and begins to incorporate more of the other, typically reformist sources.[250] Wyatt's changes to Aretino's content move away from Aretino's typically Catholic view of the salvific necessity of the sacrament of penance towards a more reformed view of sin and repentance resting on Christ's work alone.[251] R. A. Rebholz summarises the evidence for claiming Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* for Protestantism:

> Aretino's David vacillates between hope and a fear bordering on despair throughout the work . . . he is in fact caught up in the continuing cycle of sin and forgiveness and sin typical of much Roman Catholic spirituality. . . .Wyatt, on the other hand, is trying, I think, to make David the type of Reformed Christian who experiences the genuinely profound, almost despairing sense of his sinfulness only once before the critical act of

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[248] Muir, *Life*, 256.
[249] Alistair Fox, for example, views the sexual tension in the *Paraphrase* as indicative of Wyatt's inner conflict over severing his relationship with his mistress, see, *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 281.
[250] Rebholz, *Complete*, 454.
[251] Stephen Greenblatt says, "Wyatt captures the authentic voice of early English Protestantism," *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 115. Alistair Fox also claims that the *Paraphrase* displays an "unmistakable Lutheran bias," see *Politics and Literature*, 282. For further discussions on the theological changes made by Wyatt see Heale, *Wyatt, Surrey and Early Tudor Poetry*, 159-73; H. A. Mason, *Humanism*, 212-13; Twombly, "Thomas Wyatt's Paraphrase," 345-80; Alexandra Halasz, "Wyatt's David," in *Rethinking the Henrician Era: Essays on Early Tudor Texts and Contexts*, ed. by Peter C. Herman (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 193-218.

> believing that God forgives him, justifies him . . . loves him, and will make him holy.[252]

Most critics who argue for Wyatt's disguised yet strident Protestantism also use this assumption about his theological stance to date the composition of the poems to 1541, when Wyatt was put on trial and imprisoned, accused of sympathizing with the fallen-from-favor Cardinal Pole.[253] Rather than assigning a specific confessional belief to Wyatt based on sources he did (or did not) use, other scholars offer a more nuanced examination recognizing the theological complexities of the 1530's and 40's when the poem was being written.[254]

These critical frameworks rely on precise compositional dating, to within a few months of an event in Wyatt's life. While intriguing, *A Paraphrase* resists this autobiographical critical framework, as it is almost impossible to date the work beyond a narrow range of about nine years between 1534 and 1542.[255] Greg

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[252] Rebholz, *Complete*, 456.
[253] Muir, *Life*, 195-6.
[254] Alexandra Halasz examines David's emotional complexity within *Paraphrase*, seeing similarities to the often-paradoxical theology of Protestantism (i.e. free will and predestination, grace and good works). She argues that instead of a disguised statement of radical Protestantism, Wyatt's use of these sources actually complicates the poems by introducing a destabilizing element from the Catholic status-quo, see "Wyatt's David," 193-218. Brian Cummings sees Lutheranism present in the *Paraphrase* as "heard, but only as a faint echo amid the self-censoring burden of Henrician prohibition" (226). Cummings sees a doctrinal tension in Wyatt's sources as indicative of a "masterpiece of suppressed scandal and of scandalous suppression," *Literary Culture of the Reformation* (231).
[255] R. A. Rebholz writes in his introductory comments to the *Paraphrase* that a "precise dating . . . seems impossible," (455). After looking at Wyatt's source texts, Rebholz settles for a conservative estimate, arguing that the poems were composed between 1534, the year that George Joye's Psalter was published, and Wyatt's death in 1542. See *The Psalter of David in Englyshe, purely and faythfully translated after the texte of Felyne*, trans. George Joye (London: Thomas Godfray, 1534). H.A. Mason chooses 1536 as the composition date primarily because he views Wyatt's poetic technique in *Paraphrase* as undeveloped when compared to his later *Satires*, see *Humanism and Poetry* 203. By examining ink availability and chemistry, paper type, and watermarks in the Egerton manuscript, Jason Powell

Walker's reading of Wyatt is representative of many critics; he reads an "autobiographical aspect to [*A Paraphrase's*] narrative of suffering and redemption," and argues that it was written shortly after Wyatt's release from his second imprisonment in 1541.[256] Yet Rikvah Zim rejects such specific dating as it is generally based primarily on assumptions about autobiographical elements present in Wyatt's text. She writes that, "there is no external evidence to suggest either that Wyatt wrote this poem in prison, or that he intended his imitation of these psalms to articulate his personal prayers on any other occasion."[257]

Since the sixteenth-century literary critics have read Wyatt's David as an encoded attack on Henry VIII's personal misbehavior and a rebuke urging the monarch to repent. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, whose poetry was also published in Totell's *Songes*, was one of the earliest writers to put forth this idea of Wyatt as a courtly Nathan. The Egerton manuscript features a poem by Surrey prefacing the *Psalms.*

> What holly grave, what wourthy sepulture,
> To Wyates Psalmes shulde Christians purchace?
> Where he dothe paynte the lyvely faythe and pure,
> The steadfast hoope, the swete returne to grace
> Of just Davyd by parfite penytence,
> Where Rewlers may se in a myrrour clere
> The bitter frewte of false concupyscence,
> How Jewry bought Uryas deathe full dere.
> In Prynces hartes goddes scourge yprynted depe

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offers a 1539 date, specifically when Wyatt was on a diplomatic mission to Spain, see "Thomas Wyatt's Poetry in Embassy."

[256] Walker, *Writing Under*, 351.

[257] Zim, *English Metrical*, 46.

Myght them awake out of their synfull slepe.[258]

Likely written in the manuscript by Surrey himself, Surrey's poem labels *A Paraphrase* as an expression of "the lyvely faythe and pure" which allows it to function as "a myrrour" to examine personal behavior. [259] Surrey frames Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* as self-revelatory. His poem also touches on an idea that will be further developed below, the male gaze. However, for Surrey, because he reads the poems as allegorical and directed toward the King, Wyatt's poetic sequence enables the royal gaze to move inward instead of out towards external characters. He imagines *A Paraphrase* as a mirror re-turning the "Rewlers" gaze, creating a moment of self-absorption in a gaze that becomes violent even as it turns inward. This inward bending gaze reveals God's "scourge" the result of "false concupysence," a thinly veiled reference to Henry's mulitple sexual relationships. With little demarcation between the prefatory poem and Wyatt's following poems, Surrey's poetic preface frames Wyatt's work not as that of an experimental reworker of continental poetry, but as the product of a stern moralist issuing warnings to the rulers of the land, functioning much like a modern Nathan the Prophet warning King David.

Surrey's biographical, political reading of Wyatt's David was not without precedent. Henry often personally identified himself and his family with the Kings of Israel. He commissioned illustrations, paintings, and even tapestries depicting David and his heir Solomon to decorate the royal residences.[260] A

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[258] Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, "The Great Macedon," in *Wyatt: The Critical Heritage* ed. Patricia Thomson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 28.
[259] Walker offers this idea of the editorial Surrey in his book *Writing Under Tyranny*, 397.
[260] Pamela Tudor-Craig, "Henry VIII and King David," in *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1989), 191. This is an excellent analysis of Henry's "discovery" of David and his identification with the Royal and Musical David,

Psalter presented to the King in 1540 or 1541 featured a clearly recognizable Henry as David the singer and king in one of its illuminations (see fig. 2.8).[261] Jean Mallard is the probable illuminator of this Psalter. He was also involved in the creation of a similar Psalter for Francis I. In the French Psalter, Mallard illustrated Francis as the penitent David with a Bathsheba figure in the background.[262] Henry, however, seems to have avoided this identification with penance, even in the marginalia of his Psalter, where although he makes notes in other sections, there are no personal notes by the Penitential Psalms.[263] Henry is featured in other illustrated poses in the Psalter, but never as David the penitent.[264] Given Henry's identification with the image and character of David, the idea that Wyatt would use his poetry to force Henry's recognition of adulterous behavior is certainly plausible, but would have been highly dangerous.

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but not necessarily as the Penitent David. For a discussion of the tapestries commisioned and aquired by Henry VIII, including those depicting the David and Bathsheba story, see Thomas P. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

[261] British Library, Royal MS 2 A lxiii.

[262] Tudor-Craig, "Henry VIII," 195 fn. 59.

[263] Michael Hattaway, "Marginalia of Henry VIII in his Copy of *The Bokes of Solomon, etc.*" *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* vol. IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 166-70.

[264] John N. King "Henry VIII as David: The King's Image and Reformation Politics," in *Rethinking the Henrician Era*, 78-92.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 2.8 Henry VIII pictured as King David in British Library, Royal MS 2 A lxiii.

Modern critics often elaborate on Surrey's conceptualization of *A Paraphrase* as a direct attack on Henry VIII and his court. Greg Walker in his book *Writing Under Tyranny* argues that in writing *A Paraphrase,* Wyatt "both confronted and acknowledged his own guilt as a fallen sinner and, in the manner of Nathan the Prophet, condemned the lustful self-indulgence and murderous despotism of his king, deploying his own rhetorical skills as chief advocate for his own redemption and the King's confession."[265] Wyatt then would have seen himself in the dual role of David as penitent and Nathan the Prophet, the one who confronts the King and exposes his sin, causing him to repent. Surrey's political reading of Wyatt begins to touch on this language of mirroring and visuality that is my concern in this chapter.

[265] Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny*, 376.

What gets lost in accounts of *A Paraphrase* that pursue political and biographical themes, however, is the conscious artistry and translation Wyatt displayed in adapting Aretino's highly sexualized work, and the resulting centrality of the erotic body and the male gaze, which will be the focal point of my analysis. Certainly these biographical and political readings are not untenable: the Penitential Psalms (speaking, reciting, singing, and writing them) were often linked with acts of personal penance during the previous centuries. However, Rikvah Zim reminds us that these solely allegorical and biographical readings are limiting, as the biblical Psalms themselves are inherently emotionally laden: "the emotional tensions made evident in David's meditations and the prevailing sense of personal anxiety and struggle in his expressions, are proper to the biblical models."[266] Those critics who seek personal allegory in *A Paraphrase* fail to take into account the tradition of intense introspection embedded in the biblical Psalms, and particularly the Penitential Psalms, which would already be present in Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* as well as other paraphrastic works and would not necessarily point to events in Wyatt's life. At the same time, though, an examination of the tradition of psalmic translation need not prohibit intense complexity. This is implicit both in the early modern tradition of framing the psalms (as evidenced by the above illustrations), and in the implications behind Wyatt's act of translating Aretino, which is attended by connotations of irreligion and deviant sexuality. Biographical readings tend to reduce the visual field of the poem, and thus its complexity, to a single subject or correlating event. Instead, I will examine the re-directed sexuality present in *A Paraphrase* and investigate the potential for intersecting interpersonal relationships between the subjects presented within the poem.

[266] Zim, *English Metrical*, 46-7. For Zim's entire refutation of biographical readings see 43-7.

"And in a look anon:" Looking and Being Looked at in *A Paraphrase*

Unquestionably, the subtlest reading of Wyatt to date, and the one closest to my own interests, is to be found in Stephen Greenblatt's seminal New Historical text, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*. Greenblatt proposed examining both the autobiographical elements and the social-political elements in *A Paraphrase* while looking to the text as an example of Wyatt's inwardness, self-fashioning, and representation. Greenblatt then argued that these themes extend throughout Wyatt's canon. Through this critical lens, *A Paraphrase* becomes a composition that has at its heart power struggle and inwardness: a psychodrama reflecting Wyatt's own personal, psychological, and confessional development. By working with translations and other sources, Wyatt fashioned masks of various roles that would serve him as he interacted with court and church political spheres. Greenblatt argues that Wyatt wrote *A Paraphrase* while facing political censure and imprisonment in 1536. As a result, he also sees the text as Wyatt's attempt to instruct Henry though simultaneously equating him with a Divine and overpowering God: "Even in the presence of God, Wyatt casts a nervous glance at the king; the two irascible autocrats seem . . . to bear a striking resemblance to each other."[267] Wyatt's "presentation of the self in the court of God [and] the presentation of the self in the court of Henry VIII" through *A Paraphrase* are what Greenblatt believes to be the key focal points of the text. This fashioning of the author's personal and political self, ultimately leads to a textual focus on inwardness and power over sexuality: "theological self-fashioning—the power

[267] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fasioning*, 122.

of the book over the identity—cannot long be separated from secular self-fashioning—[and] the power of sexual and political struggles at court."[268]

Greenblatt's seminal arguments lay the foundation for my critical examination of Wyatt's *A Paraphrase*. While Greenblatt is one of the few critics to point up the sexuality present within Wyatt's work, his interpretations consistently remain rooted in a historical and biographical framework.[269] I would like to build off of Greenblatt's focus on the intense sexuality present in *A Paraphrase*, while taking into account Wyatt's visual and textual culture, which reveal alternative readings of the text. Greenblatt's reading of Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* relies on an interpretation that sees the text as uniquely inward looking and disconnected from previous Psalmic paraphrases. As I have shown in the Introduction, the development of a spiritual inwardness can be seen throughout the medieval period as writers returned again and again to the psalms for different modes of personal and spiritual expression. As Rivkah Zim writes, "to over-emphasise the potential for personal significance in each of the seven psalms is to under-estimate larger patterns of meaning and significance in the sequence as a whole."[270]

Greenblatt argues that the sexuality within *A Paraphrase* is a result of Wyatt's self-fashioning and illustrates a key principle present in Reformation-era poetics. He also notices, that "by using the Bathsheba story as the context for the entire sequence, the Renaissance [and by extension, Wyatt's work and the sources he used] in effect sexualizes what in the original is a broader expression

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[268] ibid, 116.
[269] By rooting the *Paraphrase* in this critical framework, the characters become interchangeable, but only in a social and political framework. Alexandra Halasz points out this facet of Grenblatt's work: "not only are Wyatt, the narrator, and David collapsed into 'the psalmist' anxiously petitioning his powerful God but the figure of determining power can be indifferently filled by God, Henry VIII, the Reformation, or the generalized system of power" ("Wyatt's David," 197).
[270] Zim, *English Metrical Psalms*, 47.

of sinfulness and anxiety."[271] I agree that Wyatt's version of the Penitential Psalms is inherently sexualized due to the narrative framework surrounding the paraphrastic poems. While Greenblatt sees suppression of sexuality and inwardness as inherently connected, I argue that there is instead a redirection of physicality and sexual tension in *A Paraphrase,* but within a system that is intensely inward and densely complex from the beginning. Because *A Paraphrase* is framed in the light of the David and Bathsheba account, it might be understood in terms of the visual tradition of self-absorption, which is often thematized through the imagery of looking and being looked at. Rather than suppressing his sexuality, Wyatt's David redirects it to a different source, much as he redirects his gaze from Bathsheba to God, shifting from looking at to being looked upon. Instead of a simple act of repression, a variety of power and sexual dynamics are present in *A Paraphrase*, creating a multidimensional text where theological ideas coexist with erotic physicality and psychological development.

My examination of erotic language in conjunction with spirituality in *A Paraphrase* will seek to apply the theoretical framework that Richard Rambuss uses in his work, *Closet Devotions*. Rambuss sets out to examine the interplay of the sacred and the erotic in seventeenth-century literature. "Rather than seek to disentangle such affiliations of pleasure, devotion, and eroticism," Rambuss writes, "we might . . . bring these overlapping networks of desire into an expressive rapprochement."[272] Rambuss discusses his framework with reference to John Donne's sacred poetry: "the religious and the sexual are accorded adjacent psychic or, perhaps better, affective sites. It's in the mixture of religion

[271] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 116.
[272] ibid, 101.

and the erotic . . . that devotion becomes stimulated, heightened."[273] This mixture can be found particularly in seventeenth-century poets "notorious for their often disquieting alignments of the spiritual and the corporeal, the sacred and profane."[274] Rambuss argues that when critics examining these poets "sublimate the erotic galvanism of devotion to Christ into 'mere' metaphor," elements of the poetry are lost and cannot be examined to their full potential. *Closet Devotions* examines primarily seventeenth-century texts and focuses on forms of licit desire and erotic pleasure in connection to various forms of Trinitarian devotion. In contrast, Wyatt's King David belongs to a tradition of the Penitential Psalms that explores the ramifications of pleasurable and yet illicit love. Instead of Donne's or Herbert's focus on erotic desire between the speaker of the poem and a member of the Trinity, Wyatt's poems begin with illicit desire for an unattainable woman. He then unfolds David's sexual and psychological changes in a complex reworking of an erotic tradition but in the context of David's relationship with God. David's devotion to God is heightened and developed as a result of Wyatt's erotic and physical language used throughout the *A Paraphrase.*

As Rebholz notes, Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* follows the structure of Aretino's *I Sette Salmi* by beginning with a narrative introduction of ten stanzas before the first paraphrase of Psalm 6.[275] From these first lines of *A Paraphrase*, the themes of eroticism and ocularity are present. The introduction begins with the story of David and Bathsheba but with added elements that create narrative tension and introduce darker overtones, which emphasise the illicit nature of David's desire. In the first line, Love appears as an additional character, an active player in the

[273] Richard Rambuss, *Closet Devotions* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 98.
[274] ibid, 98.
[275] Rebholz, *Complete*, 453-4.

seduction and affair. With this introduction of Love, Wyatt is able to insert narrative tension which complements the complexities already present in the visual tradition. Within this stanza, the importance of the gaze and its direction is emphasised, but also proves to be evasive.

> Love, to give law unto his subject hearts,
> Stood in the eyes of Barsabe the bright,
> And in a look anon himself converts
> Cruelly pleasant before King David's sight,
> First dazed his eyes, and further forth he starts
> With venomed breath, as softly as he might
> Touched his senses, and overruns his bones
> With creeping fire, sparkled for the nonce. (ln. 1-8)

Love is pictured as David's equal and a rival king. Indeed, Love stands "to give law unto his subject hearts" attempting to rule over David. Here, Love is not a beneficent force, but changes and morph, as agent and instigator in the exchange of gazes and objects.

Much like the illustration examined from the 1541 Bible (fig 2.3) of the publicly displayed bathing Bathsheba, there are three agents present in this first stanza. The traditional binary of the male/observer and female/object has been complicated with the additional character. These three agents all revolve around the moment of gazing in line three found in the word "look." Wyatt's description of the moving gaze between Love and these other characters is best understood in light of Mieke Bal's description of a multifocal field, with its preference for multiple, active agents. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, Bal argues that the viewer and the object can constantly be in flux, switching roles. The grammatical slippage in line three emphasises this gaze in flux,

particularly in the modifying phrase and the indefinite pronoun. Who is the viewer and who is the one being viewed? The male Love could be superimposing himself onto Bathsheba and then slipping out to touch David's "senses," instigating David's sexual desire "with creeping fire." And yet the phrase "in a look anon" could also be referring to David's look towards Bathsheba.

The intense physicality of the stanza's last four lines point up the erotic tension which will follow in the next few stanzas. In the first line, Love is the possessor of "subjects," the viewer of the scene. In the next two lines, if Love has superimposed himself onto Bathsheba, he is the viewer looking at David. Line four, however, indicates that David has now become the viewer; Love (superimposed over Bathsheba) is now the object and has "dazed his eyes." Love has "venomed breath," touches David, and "overruns [David's] bones/with creeping fire" (ln. 7 and 8). By the second stanza, Love has been enfolded into (or superimposed onto) David. Love is constantly changing and reforming: "in a look anon himself converts/ Cruelly pleasant" (ln. 3-4). As David stands "entranced" by what he sees, Love disappears into the background, seemingly melding with Bathsheba.

> And in this branle as he stood entranced,
> Yielding unto the figure and the frame,
> That those fair eyes had in his presence glanced;
> The form that Love had printed in his breast
> He honoureth as a thing of thinges best. (ln. 12-16)

David yields to the visual object, "the figure and the frame," Love has "printed in his breast." This slippery shifting of the viewer and the object keeps the reader unsure of the situation, creating a conflict that draws the reader into

Wyatt's paraphrase by setting up a unique narrative frame. The reader watches David, who believes himself to be looking at Bathsheba. However, David has been captivated by the male character of Love, in an interaction that is reminiscent of the visual descriptions in the mythos surrounding the god Eros. David's and Love's interweaving gazes create a circuit of male interactions with the actors alternatively switching places in a homosocial exchange that underscores David's constantly fluctuating sexual energy between remorse for his transgressions and his illicit desire for Bathsheba.

A Paraphrase focuses on David's sexual and spiritual development, leaving Bathsheba an almost incidental character. She is never fully developed, but rather remains on the periphery of David's gaze without ever quite becoming the actual object of it. Wyatt's word choice indicates that she is present, but unlike the contemporary visual portrayals of the story, she is not the sole object of David's gaze. Instead, Wyatt's portrayal of Bathsheba is fractured; she is never described as a complete person, rather she is pictured in glimpses. This erasure of Bathsheba as a fully-formed character forces the focus of *A Paraphrase* to remain on David, the one who is gazing and the one whose actions instigate the narrative. And yet the poem consistently suggests that David's gaze misses its mark. He is never able to see Bathsheba in her entirety, but only in glimpses of the whole. Love "stands in the eyes of Barsabe the bright" (ln. 2). Love attracts David's attention, not Bathsheba herself. In line fourteen her "fair eyes" are mentioned in connection with her "figure and frame" (ln. 13), but here again, these words obliquely reference the structure of her physical body, not her whole person. Bathsheba is essentially missing from the scene. Her "figure" and "form" are present, but this word choice recalls the language of printing: these descriptors are merely copies of an unseen original. A reproduced form of

Bathesheba, a copy, "Love had printed in his [David's] breast." (ln. 15). This transitory and fractured image of Bathsheba continues throughout the stanza, as David turns her into his "idol" in line twenty-two. She now has become a physical object to be worshipped instead of the unseen Hebrew God. This idolatry of Bathsheba is referred to again in line twenty-six where David holds her as "more than God or himself." The closest to an actual description of her comes later as David blames her for his bad decisions.

> The cheer, the manner, beauty, and countenance
> Of her whose look, alas, did make me blind. (ln. 157-8)

But, even here, Bathsheba is described in connection with David's gaze, not necessarily who she *is* on her own merit.

With a fractured Bathsheba, it may seem that Wyatt is placing himself firmly in the Petrarchan descriptive tradition. Wyatt, however, is attempting something slightly different. Nancy J. Vickers explains Petrarch's poetic descriptions of the famous Laura as having an "obsessive insistence on the particular, an insistence that would in turn generate multiple texts on individual fragments of the body or the beauties of woman."[276] In Petrarch's "poetic sequence, the lady is corporeally scattered;" the lover in turn, "becomes emotionally scattered."[277] The male lover in the Petrarchan tradition is disassembled even as he scatters his lady into parts. Poems in this tradition are more interested in what the lady is composed of rather than the whole person. Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* uses Petrarchan elements, but branches out into a new

[276] Nancy J. Vickers, "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme" *Critical Inquiry* 8 (Winter 1981): 266.
[277] Vickers, "Diana," 274.

poetic technique. Bathsheba is indeed fractured and never pictured as a whole, and yet *A Paraphrase* focuses not on the mirroring effect of the scattered male lover, but on the gaze itself. The gaze, with its shifting other/object, not the detailed description of the fractured female, is essential to the poems. David's gaze, his place as the subject of a gaze, and the ensuing ramifications are central to *A Paraphrase*.

Wyatt traces the changing gazes and objects of the gaze as the poetic sequence progresses through the paraphrases. At first, David is the object of Love's manipulative gaze; he then shifts to being the one gazing upon Bathsheba. David's gaze shifts from Bathsheba to God, from the seen to the unseen. Finally David is the one being gazed upon by God. Wyatt's diction throughout the poem emphasises this overarching theme and development of the gaze through vocabulary related to the sense of sight. *Blind* and *blinded* are used throughout the first half of the work, with the greatest density of repetition occurring in the preface:

> And after he had brought this thing about,
> And of that lust possessed himself he findeth
> That hath and doth reverse and clean turn out
> Kings from kingdoms and cities undermineth,
> He, blinded, thinks this train so blind and close,
> To blind all thing, that naught may it disclose. (ln. 27-32)

A feeling of lust has replaced the character of Love introduced at the start of this sequence, and is now the thing that has blinded David. And yet even in this stanza, it remains unclear just who has instigated the lust referred to in line twenty-eight. Has Love's controlling gaze possessed David or does David possess and control the lust himself? Lines twenty-nine and thirty use layers of

negative terms to emphasise the destruction to David's governmental rule caused by this illicit, desiring gaze. Royalty is "reversed," "turned out," and "undermined" when lust becomes the focus of the king. David's lust clouds his discretion and his vision; blinded by his lust, he has been deceived into thinking that his actions have been hidden from those around him. He seeks to "blind" others by hiding his actions. Ultimately his deceit becomes an attempt to avoid becoming the object of another's gaze—anyone's gaze who may perceive his lust. David wants to be the one gazing rather than the object being gazed upon, but the result is that "he [is] blinded."

Wyatt introduces a variant to the biblical story when David finally decides to summon Bathsheba. David arranges for Uriah to be gone from the household so that he can summon Bathsheba to the palace. In the biblical account, Uriah is already away at war when the encounter takes place. David "of that lust possessed" has intercourse with Bathsheba (ln. 28). Nathan the Prophet is then introduced as the fifth character in this introductory frame, after having "spied out this treachery" by David (ln. 33). In spite of attempting to cloak his actions to avoid another's gaze, David cannot hide from Nathan. With Nathan's entry into the narrative, the slippery subversion continues as David changes from being the viewer to the viewed. This idea is introduced in the use of the word *spied,* which continues the idea of the gaze from the previous stanzas.

> But Nathan hath spied out this treachery
> With rueful cheer and sets afore his face
> The great offence, outrage, and injury
> That he hath done to God as in this case—
> By murder for to cloak adultery. (ln. 33-37)

Nathan confronts David for "the great offence. . . done to God" (ln. 35-36), accusing him of a double sin: "murder for to cloak adultery" (ln. 37). The word "cloak" subtly refers the reader back to David's desire to hide from a viewer, to keep from being the object. Nathan's appearance and declaration shifts the instigator of the gaze from David's subjects to God's all-seeing gaze.

At the start of the poem, Love instigated David's intense sexual desire for Bathsheba through an exchange of erotic gazes. David then follows these desires and completes his illicit affair with Bathsheba. The prophet Nathan however, acts as a foil to Love. When David comes under Nathan's gaze, instead of inciting sexual attraction as Love did, David becomes impotent. In the following two stanzas, Wyatt emphasises this impotence by signifying David's loss of arousal through a series of *double entendres* and phallic symbols. This focus on David's psychological state after being confronted for his affair reveals the King's intense anxiety regarding a possible loss of his sexual potency:

> The heat doth straight forsake the limbs cold,
> The colour eke droopeth from his cheer;
> So doth he feel his fire manifold,
> His heat, his lust, his pleasure all in fere
> Consume and waste: and straight his crown of gold,
> His purple pall, his sceptre he lets fall,
> And to the ground he throweth himself withal.
>
> Then pompous pride of state, and dignity
> Forthwith rebates repentant humbleness. (ln. 42-50)

David's "heat, his lust, his pleasure" diminish in the sudden absence of sexual arousal. His scepter falls and he ends in "humbleness," as he looses both his kingdom and his sexual potency. Line thirty sets the stage for this monarchical

ruin, warning that David is ignoring the consequences of illicit passion, including its power to separate "kings from kingdoms." This dual loss is pictured in the dropping of the scepter. David is rendered incompetent and unable to rule with the loss of his scepter, the metonymic symbol of his authority. Now that David's masculinity has been weakened, he is forced to withdraw into the darkness and obscurity of impotency. As he seems to show sorrow for his sin (or at least now that he has been found out by Nathan), David withdraws to a cave where he sings the first paraphrase of Psalm 6.

Between each paraphrastic poem, Wyatt includes narrative insertions that bring the focus back to the singing and composing King David. Unlike other paraphrases where the speaker of the psalm may be genderless or a representation of the author, Wyatt's narrative interludes between the paraphrases consistently return the reader to the examination of David's psychological and spiritual development that is woven in and through the paraphrases creating a cohesive whole. This narrative framing grounds the paraphrases in the action that instigated the sin to begin with: the gaze of illicit desire. The framework identifies the speaker of the penitentials as David, but the paraphrases themselves also contain subtle pointers to David's biography. These biographical references along with the erotic allusions to Bathsheba and sexual diction make it impossible for the reader to ignore Wyatt's framework of illicit desire, lust, and the errant gaze.

Wyatt's Psalm 6 retains the traditional confessional and penitential nature of the biblical text yet because of *A Paraphrase*'s setting of the desiring gaze and illicit sexual activity, there remains a strong underlying fascination with the erotic and the male body. This exploration of male eroticism will eventually fade as the sequence progresses and David postulates himself as the one being gazed

upon instead of the one gazing. Line one hundred begins the section containing the first example of this continuing fascination with the male body. David says,

> My flesh is troubled. My heart dothe fear the spear—
> That dread of death, of death that ever lasts,
> Threateth of right, and draweth near and near!
> Much more my soul is troubled by the blasts
> Of these assaults (that come as thick as hail)
> Of worldly vanities, that temptation casts
> Against the weak bulwark of the flesh frail. (ln. 100-106)

Both Aretino's and Wyatt's paraphrases are longer than the ten short verses of the biblical text of the psalm, and both contain this additional section where David meditates on his fear of mortality. Aretino's David worries over arrows of fear.[278] Wyatt, however, has exchanged these to the more obviously phallic spear. At first it seems that David merely fears his enemies' attacks. However, with the last two lines in this section focusing on the "worldly vanities" and "temptations" that attack his "flesh frail," it becomes clear that David fears his inability to withstand these temptations. David fears not merely his enemies' spears, but a deeper source of frailty, his own body. The phalically shaped "spear" refers to David's own penis, which has brought "death" to those around him, and he fears, to himself as well. Due to his sin, both his affair with Bathsheba and his murder of her husband Uriah, David's penis is now connected to death, and ultimately he fears it will lead to his soul's destruction in a "death that ever lasts."

The paraphrase of Psalm 6 primarily focuses on David's examination of his suffering soul over his own contrition. His apparent theme for the

[278] Rebholz quotes Aretino's version in the notes: "My heart is wounded by the arrow which the bow of fear of its damnation has into it." *Complete*, 459.

paraphrase could be summed up in line 139 as David appeals to God: "suffer my cries thy mercy for to move." Even though David's sexual misbehavior is what propelled him into this spiritual crisis of contrition and confession, in this paraphrase he returns again to mull over the memory of the illicit sexual act and a continued focus on the male body. As he speaks of his current spiritual misery, it leads him to reminisce about his past sexual experience.

> By nightly plaints instead of pleasyres old
> I wash my bed with tears continual
> To dull my sight that it be never bold
> To stir my heart again to such a fall.
> Thus dry I up among my foes in woe
> That with my fall do rise and grow withal. (ln. 148-153)

Instead of semen or other fluids that might "wash" David's bed in moments of pleasure, now there are "tears continual." Tears, as his outward sign of contrition, are designed to "dull [his] sight [and] stir [his] heart again." Again, David connects the illicit sexual act as resulting directly from his errant gazing upon Bathsheba. In this re-turning and re-remembering of his sexual encounter, David turns this gaze onto himself and his own body. Lines 152 and 153 outline the paradox David finds himself trapped in. As he experiences spiritual remorse, he dries up, becoming impotent, yet his foes seem to "rise and grow." His enemies gain strength and virility as his own diminishes.

These unnamed foes are not only the image of male virility in the poem, but they continue to actively attack by laying "secret traps to trouble [David's] penance" (ln. 155). The three traps that David lists are the memories of his encounter with Bathsheba, "the power of [his] armour," and "the favour of

people" seen in the "palace, pomp, and riches" (ln. 161 & 164). But, the foremost trap for David is the memory of Bathsheba.

> And me beset even now where I am, so
> With secret traps to trouble my penance.
> Some do present to my weeping eyes, lo,
> The cheer, the manner, beauty, and countenance
> Of her whose look, alas, did make me blind. (ln. 154-158)

Once again, Bathsheba is not pictured as a woman, or named; rather she is listed in parts and with a pronoun. The words David uses to describe Bathesheba, "cheer," "manner," "beauty," and "countenance" all relate to the sense of sight, returning us again to the other overarching theme throughout *A Paraphrase*; gaving and being gazed upon. The use of the phrase "her whose look" in line 158 reveals a sudden subversion in the paraphrase. It seems at first that Bathsheba has gained agency as the one who looked; contrary to the narrative given at the start of *A Paraphrase,* David here considers himself the one who was gazed upon. David declares her "look, alas, did make me blind." She is now numbered with his enemies as the sexual aggressor. This subversion of David as the object and Bathsheba as the gazer/possesor questions the validity of his contrition in this paraphrase. Can David actually repent for something if he questions his own responsibility in the act? In spite of his cries for mercy and his claims of spiritual suffering, he appears to be positioning himself as the passive victim instead of the aggressor.

Wyatt's narrative interlude between the paraphrases of Psalm 6 and 32 continues previous references to the sense of sight, describing David's eyes and the tears they shed. Finally, David moves from the physical darkness of the cave, outside to a "hollow tree" where he continues singing Psalm 32. The biblical text

of Psalm 32 concentrates on the physical effects that sin has on the penitent. Philip Sidney's paraphrase of Psalm 32, discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, takes this traditional focus on physical suffering and pushes it further depicting not just references to pain, but a penitent who carries out a tortured, often gruesome exploration of bodily suffering. Wyatt's paraphrase is markedly different. Instead of itemizing his physical sufferings, David remains focused on the spiritual, often abstract aspects of God's forgiveness of sin. David's "bones consume and wax unfirm [because of his] daily rage roaring in excess" (ln. 233-234), as punishment for a generalized form of sin and guilt. Then David references his illicit sexual encounter using corporeal metaphors to communicate the intensity of his guilt and severity of God's judgement. In the first section, lines 225-231, David focuses on those who do not have the physical burden of lust that he does.

> And happy are they that have the wilfulness
> Of lust restrained, afore it went at large,
> Provoked by the dread of God's furor;
> Whereby they have not on their backs the charge
> Of other's fault to suffer the dolour,
> For that their fault was never execute
> In open sight, example of error. (ln. 225-231)

Those who lack "the wilfulness of lust" will not carry the burden of sin on their backs. Here again David connects his sin of adultery with Bathsheba to the sense of sight, as he envisions himself as "an example of error" "in open sight." This change stands in stark contrast to the narrative introduction of the lust-crazed David who thought he could hide his sin:

He, blinded, thinks this train so blind and close
To blind all thing, that naught may it disclose. (ln. 31-32)

Philip Sidney's speaker of Psalm 32 remains a suffering, self-examining, and self-displaying penitent, perusing the effects of contrition. Wyatt's David instead circles back to his past sexual behavior, which in turn frees the paraphrase from the traditional focus on a generalized physical suffering, and anchoring it in the erotic framework.

Lines 245-249 introduce God's corporeality as a force of spiritual reform sets the stage for the spiritual and physical changes that David is about to undergo in the rest of *A Paraphrase*.

Thy heavy hand on me was increast
Both day and night and held my heart in press,
With pricking thoughts bereaving me my rest,
That withered is my lustiness away
As summer heats that hath the grain oppressed. (ln. 245-249)

The "heavy hand" of judgment causes David to experience even more contrition over his sin. This "withered" David's "lustiness." Whether *lustiness* refers to vigor or to sexuality, it is God's "heavy hand" that has instigated this spiritual change.[279]

David's repentant submission is reflected in the narrative interlude between this paraphrase and the paraphrase of Psalm 38. Once again, David subverts the order of gazer/object as he fully accepts his position as the one being gazed upon, not the one gazing on another. And in this becoming of the

[279] *OED*, lustiness 2 & 3.

other, or the "you" on Mieke Bal's multi-focal axis, David's sexual desire is transferred from Bathsheba to the divine, seeing God.

> As the servant that, in his master's face
> Finding pardon of his passed offence,
> Considering his great goodness and his grace,
> Glad tears distils as gladsome recompense,
> Right so David, that seemed in that place
> A marble image of singular reverence
> Carved in the rock with eyes and hands on high
> Made as by craft to plain, to sob, to sigh. (ln. 301-8)

As David realizes that he has finally obtained God's forgiveness for his offence, he fully submits to being the one gazed upon. In gazing on Bathsheba, David made her into an idol (ln. 22); he set her apart, frozen, to be used for his purpose. She was to be gazed upon and objectified. Yet here, David has been set apart in the wilderness near a cave, where he becomes "carved in the rock." He is a "marble image" of a kind similar to the contemporary, continental trends Wyatt would have seen in Italy and Aretino owned: an object of art. Now, his sole purpose is not to gaze upon others, but "to plain, to sob, to sigh" (ln. 308) before the watching God. He willingly becomes the gazed upon penitent.

Shortly after these lines, metephorical references to sight and vision are left behind as a beam of light shines from the sky into David's cave. From the beginning of *A Paraphrase,* Wyatt has been laying the foundations for the traditional comparison of sin and darkness, spiritual truth and light. This revelatory moment creates not only a shift in David's spiritual state, but also a shift in Wyatt's consistent focus on the sexual act and male eroticism within the paraphrases. Instead of looking at Bathsheba or backward at the sexual act,

David instead shifts his erotic desires to God to create a circuitous loop of gazing and being gazed upon.

> As light of lamp upon the gold clean tried;
> The turn whereof into his eyes did start,
> Surprised with joy by penance of the heart.
>
> He, then inflamed with far more hot affect
> Of God than he was erst of Barsabe. (ln. 314-318)

The light that shines on David comes from a sun "which . . . never cloud could hide" (ln. 310) a clear allusion to a light that comes from God's face.[280] God's light clears the previous blindness from David's eyes as he looks up "surprised with joy" (ln. 316).

The next two lines make up the hinge in the frame narrative as David's erotic desires and sexual energy becomes completely redirected to God. Stephen Greenblatt argues that the sexual energy in Wyatt's *A Paraphrase* is contained as David repents of his sin. Essentially, the male eroticism in *A Paraphrase* travels one trajectory, from admission to containment and repression.

> Submission to domination is, as we have seen, at the center of Tyndale's Lutheran politics and theology. In Wyatt's psalms we encounter one of the psychological aspects of this ideology: sexuality in its natural, that is sinful, state is aggressive and predatory; in its redeemed state, passive.[281]

[280] Light has traditionally been connected to God's presence, and is used throughout the Bible. Revelation 21 is just one example where the light in heaven comes from God's presence.
[281] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 123.

Greenblatt's critical reading of David's sexual repression has made room for this investigation into *A Paraphrase*'s male eroticism. And yet in light of the previous discussion of visual traditions and ocularity in this chapter, I think this poetic hinge and the turning that Wyatt takes in David's psycho-sexual development deserves further exploration. In his recent book on Thomas Wyatt, Chris Stamatakis touches briefly on this transference of desire as he examines Wyatt's diction: "words that are used in Wyatt's first prologue to denote lustful sense perceptions are redeployed as terms of transcendental vision in later prologues."[282] Wyatt portrays David as not merely repressing his desires, but redirecting them into a new circuit of homosocial male gazes. This visual exchange that sets up God as viewer and David as the object parallels the circuit that opened the poems. David is indeed no longer the predator gazing at Bathsheba, however, in becoming the object viewed by God, he does not automatically become passive. By describing David as being "inflamed with far more hot affect," Wyatt is specifically linking David's previous, active eroticism to his now changed spiritual state. David's erotic energy has not been contained but is redirected away from an illicit object to the licit Divine.

Lines 317-318 shift this interplay of sexual and erotic tension that has been present from the start of *A Paraphrase.* After this narrative insertion, the remaining five paraphrases do not contain as many allusions to copulation and the male body that the previous sections did. Instead they generally follow the more traditional penitential and spiritual cycle of contrition, confession, and divine forgiveness. Psalm 38 continues David's pleas for mercy and forgiveness, but for a more generalized "frailful wickedness" (ln. 340) instead of the specific

[282] Chris Stamatakis, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Writing: 'Turning the Word'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 86.

sin of adultery. Yet in the middle of this paraphrase, lines 331-335 allude to this new circuit of erotic interchange between David and God:

> For that thy arrows of fear, of terror,
> Of sword, of sickness, of famine and fire
> Sticks deep in me, I, lo, from mine error
> Am plunged up, as a horse our of the mire
> With stroke of spur. Such is thy hand on me (ln. 331-335)

David is here pictured as the recipient of the painful pricks of phallic imagery. In this short section, God's "sword," "spear," and "spur" all fall on David, only to "stick deep." Following the previous narrative hinge, erotic language and energy in *A Paraphrase* is not repressed, but redirected as David is "inflamed . . . of God" in this continuing interaction picturing a new, licit erotic encounter.
Following this section, Psalm 51 contains a brief reference to David's affair with Bathsheba in lines 479-480: "Make a clean heart in the mids of my breast / With sprite upright voided from filthy lust." But after this small reference, the remaining paraphrases focus on a more generalized spiritual guilt instead of a specific culpability, and on David's new spiritual relationship instead of his previous physical one with Bathsheba.

In the last section of *A Paraphrase,* David's desire for spiritual forgiveness and restoration extends beyond his own soul's state. The narrative insertion in between Psalm 38 and 51 begins with the line, "like as the pilgrim that in a long way / fainting for heat" (ln. 395-96), sending David out of the cave's entrance where he "cries or sings" the final paraphrases out on the open hills. David's physical movement to an open, and therefore more visible location is mirrored

in the communal focus of the last three paraphrases. Mentions of the male body and compulation do not appear in these last paraphrases, reflecting the communal, coporal, and gender-encompassing focus of the last paraphrases. Psalm 51 ends with a plea to God to create an "inward Zion" and a "heart's Jerusalem" (ln. 504-505) within God's people. Chapter One above discusses the problematic ending of Psalm 51 for sixteenth-century reformers, with its troublesome verses that speak of sacrifices and clean hearts, and here Wyatt emphasises the importance of the internal spiritual state over the external observances, leaning towards a more Protestant interpretation of these verses.[283] His last line: "Of thee alone thus all our good proceeds," ends the paraphrase on a plural and communal note; David now feels reincorporated into the community of believers. The last two paraphrases of Psalms 102 and 130 extend beyond the individual's spiritual state, containing several lines that call for Israel's trust in God and their redemption, further underlining David's outward look.

But perhaps the strongest proof of David's redirected gaze and eroticism comes from the silence that Wyatt uses to close *A Paraphrase.* The narrative interlude before the last paraphrase of Psalm 143 contains David's beatific vision as he witnesses the pre-incarnate Christ and a prophetic knowledge of the Virgin Birth. David's trance where he "thought the height of heaven to see," is reminiscent of the Apostle John's account at the start of the book of Revelation. And while Aretino's David also has a similar transcendent experience, Wyatt's

[283] James Simpson sees evidence of Wyatt's incorporation of the 10 Articles of Faith (1536) in this and the last half of the *Paraphrase*. Simpson argues that this shows Wyatt's more Protestant bent. See "Edifying the Church" in *Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 322-382, particularly 323-326.

David is assured of his forgiveness, where Aretino's is not.[284] David declares: "But of my sin since I my pardon have . . . Then will I crave with sured confidence" (ln. 703 & 705). Then, David sings the paraphrase of Psalm 143. Wyatt's *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms* ends with these lines:

> Thou hast fordone their great iniquity
> That vexed my soul. Thou shalt confound
> My foes, O Lord, for thy benignity,
> For thine am I, thy servant ay most bound. (ln. 772-775)

Wyatt does not close his narrative frame with a final interlude. Instead, David who we saw overtaken with lust for Bathsheba has now changed. Gone are his *double entendres* and reminiscences of his time with Bathsheba. Instead, he has merged himself with the Scripture, as the narrative setting disappears and David's words are the focus. Without an ending narrative frame, Wyatt's David has progressed from the penitential sinner to the forgiven King who begs instead to be the one gazed upon by God. "Turn not thy face from me," he asks of God (ln. 735). Instead of repressing his desire, David has fully redirected it to a licit desire and has become the object of Divine gaze.

This chapter opened with an examination of the visual tradition that may have influenced the narrative framework of Thomas Wyatt's own version of the Penitential Psalms. Characters featured in the depiction of this illustrative Old Testament scene complicate images that were intended for spiritual meditation and edification, presenting a male gaze that devours and possesses its objects. Wyatt's *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms*, begins indebted to both its main

[284] Rebholz, *Complete*, 486-497. In these notes on the last paraphrase Rebholz points out several changes where Wyatt departs from Aretino, both compositionally and what Rebholz sees as confessionally.

textual source in Aretino's *I Setti Salmi* as well as visual tradition, but as *A Paraphrase* progresses, Wyatt moves its central subject, David, from agressor to receiver, and from illicit to licit desire. Wyatt's David has redirected his sexual energies from the unwitting Bathsheba to (sometimes painful) encounters with the all-seeing God. David changes from one with "dazed eyes" overcome "with creeping fire," to an open and receiving sexual being who looks to God "like barren soil for moisture" (ln. 752). Rather than looking and desiring Bathsheba, David now desires to be looked upon by God.

Chapter III

Medicine, Soul-Sickness, and Repentance in Anne Vaughan Lock's *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner, upon the 51 Psalm*

John Mirk's *Festial*, a sermon collection written in the late fourteenth century for unlearned priests, has been described as "the most widely read vernacular sermon collection of late-medieval England."[285] Disseminated and printed as late as 1532, *Festial* was intended for rural, mostly uneducated priests.[286] This text offers a unique view of vernacular theology and devotional practice in the late medieval period. Mirk's collection, like many late medieval sermon collections printed across Europe, deals heavily with the sacrament of penance, one of the most common subjects for these ready-made sermons.[287] The following narration, noted in a Lenten sermon, provides an example of this penitential theology.

> I rede Þere were two chapmen dwellyng bysyde Þe cyte of Norwych. . . . on[e] was a good lyver, and Þat oÞer a curset lyver . . . Then hit fell aftyr so Þat Þys evell man fell seke, and lay on hys deth-bed; and when hys felaw knew he cryet on hym . . . to schryve hym, and send aftyr his prest . . . he wold not shryve hym[self], ne mercy aske. Then, aboute mydnysht, Þay saw Jhesu Cryst bodyly wyth blody wondys stondyng . . . and sayde to hym Þus: 'My sonne, why wyll Þou not schryve Þe' . . . [then the dying chapman said] 'For I wot well I am unworthy to have mercy' . . . Then Cryst toke out of hys wounde yn

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[285]Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk's Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy, and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 9. Alan Fletcher dates this collection to the 1380's; see "John Mirk and the Lollards," *Medium Aevum* 56 (1987): 218.

[286] *The English Short Title Catalogue* lists several publications of the *Festial* in the 1520s and 30s by Wyken de Worde. Anne Thayer lists this collection as one of the "bestsellers" in Europe, going through forty editions over seventy years. *Penitence*, 6.

[287] Anne Thayer's survey lists penance as the most popular subject for these volumes throughout the late medieval period; see *Penitence*, 6.

> hys side his hond full of blod and sayde: 'You fendys-chyld, Þys schall be redy token bytwyx me and Þe day of dome, Þat I wold have don Þe mercy, and Þou woldyst not.' And Þerwyth cast Þe blod ynto hys face; and Þerwyth anon Þys seke man cryed and sayd: 'Alas! Alas! I am dampnet for ay!' and soo deyd. . . . Then, at Þe last, he [the other chapman] ros up, and light a candull at Þe lampe, and come to hys fellow, and fond hym dede, and Þe red blod yn hys face, and Þe body blacke as pych.[288]

The message of this tale is evident: refusing to be shriven or confess one's sins to a priest condemns one's eternal soul. The chapman did not heed his friend's pleas, and even Christ's sudden appearance and urging failed to convince him to participate in the sacrament of penance. With the dying man's refusal to confess, divine punishment takes on both a physical and spiritual form, as Christ turns a traditional image of mercy and grace—his blood—into a sign of judgment. The physical state of the chapman's body found "black as pych [pitch]" corresponds with the eternal state of his soul. At the end of the sermon, Mirk again emphasises the necessity of participating in the sacrament: "Wherefor y amonysch you Þat ȝe take not Þys grace yn vayne; but schryve you clene of your synnes, and put you fully ynto hys mercy and ynto his grace. And Þen woll he take you ynto his mercy and into hys grace."[289] The chapman refused to be shriven, but regretted his sins, saying "I am unworthy to have mercy."[290] Contrition for one's sins was not enough: the entire sacrament had to be completed for grace to be obtained.[291] Mirk's interpretation of his tale makes

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[288] Mirk, *Festial*, 92.
[289] Mirk, *Festial*, 92.
[290] ibid.
[291] Mirk presents this exemplum not as a fable, but as an actual occurrence, an irrefutable spiritual truth. Mirk places the tale within other textual layers creating a mise-en-abyme structure that adds an authenticated authority. Mirk begins the tale with "I rede Þer wer two chapmen" (*Festial*, 91). Mirk uses this statement to give authority to his report: he is not the originator, but rather he

clear that the completion of the sacrament of penance is the key to "Þe joye Þat ever schall last."[292]

This *exemplum*, a technique used in medieval sermons to illustrate either spiritual rewards or the destructive results of sin, focuses on the importance of the sacrament of penance, as well as the Eucharist. Mirk writes that when Christ appears, he "toke out of hys wonde yn hys side his hond full of blod."[293] This depiction combines both elements of the Eucharist into one corporeal image: a hand full of blood. The cupped hand in the *exemplum* is reminiscent of the chalice filled with red wine, yet unlike the traditional Eucharistic cup and bread, this image is not offered as a means of grace, but has been transformed into a sign of judgment. Christ literally marks the man with blood as a sign of his eternal punishment. This then links the detrimental consequences for non-participation in these sacraments, penance and the Eucharist, together: if one is not "schryven," Christ's body and blood will become a means of damnation.

As discussed in the Introduction, by the fourteenth century when Mirk was writing his book of sermons, the sacrament of penance was firmly in place in the social and religious world of the English layman. The Church had joined the taking of the Eucharist with the sacrament of penance by placing both at the end of the Lenten season. The bloody anti-Eucharistic vision present in Mirk's *exemplum* would have resonated as a clear warning with its readers and hearers, emphasizing the necessity of the two sacraments which were tied so closely

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read it in another, learned authority. Mirk wrote the sermon, which would then be read aloud by a priest to the congregation. Speaking in the first person, the priest would authenticate this exemplum by declaring that he also had "rede" this tale. The priest is speaking the tale out loud, while reading it, and yet he is saying he too has read it elsewhere. The tale then has been read and written by Mirk, and then spoken and read again by the priest. These layers of spiritual authority build on the textual authentication already present in the tale with the bodily appearance of Christ.

[292] Mirk, *Festial*, 91.

[293] ibid, 92.

together in their co-administration. The wounds in Christ's side, the cupped hand filled with blood, the blackened (perhaps charred) body of the sinful chapman all speak to the integral nature of the spiritual and the corporeal within the sacrament of penance. While the corporeality present in Mirk's *exemplum* points to the dangers of refusing to participate in the sacrament, the message remains that though the sacrament is spiritual, it is intertwined with the physical realm. Each step of the sacrament of penance had a corporeal element, from physical signs of contrition to a verbalized confession to the fasting, praying, or giving of alms that were assigned as penance. Even as the theology underpinning the sacrament began to change during the sixteenth century, the corporeal elements would remain present for the penitent.

In 1560, a small octavo was published by the famously Protestant publisher John Day, entitled *Sermons of John Calvin, upon the songe of Ezachias made after he had bene sicke, and afflicted by the hand of God*. Anne Lock, a middle class woman with connections to the Scottish reformer John Knox and Calvin's congregation in Geneva, translated this important volume. This small book combines several genres: it contains four translated sermons by Calvin, a relatively long theological discussion in the form of an epistolary dedication, and the first published English sonnet sequence. *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* is a sonnet sequence consisting of five introductory sonnets and a twenty-one sonnet, verse-by-verse exposition of Psalm 51. In this chapter I will investigate some of the similarities and differences between Lock's paraphrastic sonnet sequence and the penitential manuals used in pre-reformation devotional circles. In spite of the fact that her reformed religion would have required her to reject these ritual forms, Lock's sonnet sequence in effect presents its reader with an alternative penitential process to the traditional three-part sacrament of penance. Lock's

new path to cleansing and spiritual forgiveness involves contrition, confession, and forgiveness much like the traditional steps in the sacrament of penance. Lock's process, unlike the traditional sacrament, focuses on the individual and his or her relationship with God alone, removing the role of priest as mediator and rejecting the focus on physical, exterior indicators of the sinner's spiritual condition, such as acts of penance. And yet, Lock paradoxically retains the corporeal focus of earlier penitential forms which culminates in an emphasis upon the importance of the social body of individuals as integral to spiritual development. I have labeled Lock's new and final step *incorporation* to emphasise the communal and corporeal aspects that run throughout Lock's modified process of repentance.[294]

Within reformed theology, contrition and repentance could only take place on the unseen spiritual plane. God alone could authenticate the sinner's spiritual condition and then administer absolution and forgiveness.[295] In spite of the reformed focus on the unseen interior life, the intense corporeality previously connected to the traditional sacrament of penance is still present throughout Lock's volume. The dedicatory epistle written to Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, precedes the sermons and the poems, and sets up the sonnet sequence by elucidating the integrated relationship between the physical and the

[294] Ben Burton has written an excellent article examining Lock's *Meditation* in connection to another sacrament, the Eucharist. In it he too briefly states that, "Lock presents her sonnet sequence as a means for bringing sinners to repentance," ""The praise of that I yeld for sacrifice': Anne Lock and the Poetics of the Eucharist," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 30 (2007): 90.

[295] While this is a summary statement of reformed theology as a whole, I am aware that this was not always true, particularly for the later seventeenth-century forms of Calvinism. However, this was a tenet for the earlier forms of reformed theology, and is certainly present in this 1560 volume.

spiritual.[296] Lock utilizes medical metaphors to present an undeniable connection between the health of the soul and the well-being of the body. The penitent, whose sin-sick soul needs healing, can only find medicine "amonge trewe belevyng Christians."[297] In much the same way that the physical body can encounter sickness and healing over and over throughout a lifespan, this new process of repentance, rather than being linear in nature has a cyclical, yet forward moving progression. This dynamic, changing classification sees the penitent speaker cycling through health and sickness, as he or she appeals to an often-violent God for forgiveness. Lock's insistent corporeality finds expression in medicalized conceptions of the soul, as well as in the sonnet sequence's often violent portrayal of the roles of God and the sinner's conscience. Within the sonnets, the conscience is given a fully formed corporeal presence that takes an active role in the sickening or healing of the soul, with an ever-increasing presence alongside the sinner's petition for cleansing and the forgiveness of sins. Lock's dedicatory epistle attempts to set up a clear dichotomy between the soul-sickened unbeliever and the soul-healthy "trewe belevyng Christian." And yet what is often revealed through the sonnets' diction and metaphors is that this dichotomy carries with it similarities to the previous sacramental tradition. In addition to these explorations of the sin-sick soul, I will also examine Anne Lock's *Meditation* as an attempt to rewrite medieval penitential manuals for her reformed audience in order to give access to the medicine that will heal her readers' souls.

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[296] The epistle appears to label the volume as a New Year's gift to the Duchess. For more, see Jane Donawerth, "Women's Poetry and the Tudor-Stuart System of Gift Exchange," in *Women Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*. eds., Mary E. Burke, et al. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 3-18.

[297] Anne Lock, "To the Right Honorable, and Christian Princesse," *Sermons of John Calvin* (London: John Day,1560) A4^{r}.

"He most travayl his body yn good werkes:" The Body Penitent within the Sacrament of Penance and Penitential Manuals[298]

The Fourth Lateran Council's twenty-first Canon, the *Omnis utriusque sexus*. stated that Christians "should individually confess all their sins in a faithful manner to their own priest at least once a year and . . . perform penance imposed upon them."[299] Once the *Omni*s required *every* individual's participation in the practice of confession, clerical education on the proper application of the sacrament became a necessity. Patristic fathers down through the centuries had argued about penitential theology, but it was through the dissemination of penitential and sapience manuals that the steps of the penitential process became standardized. Manuals were produced throughout the medieval period, remaining relatively unchanged well into the sixteenth century.[300] The manuals, while differing in form and time of publication, all agree that the sacrament of penance "was necessary . . . based on the power of the keys, a power entrusted to priests by which they could apply the passion of Christ and the forgiveness He won to the sins of penitent Christians."[301]

These manuals, of which the best-known English instances were *Handlyng Synne* and the *Prick of Conscience*, appeared in both prose and verse forms, and include large sections focusing on the correct administration of the sacrament of penance. In 1489, William Caxton wrote a preface to Gui de Roye's pastoral manual, which was translated from the French. Caxton wrote, "this that is

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[298] Mirk, *Festial*, 2.
[299] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1: 245.
[300] *Medieval Handbooks: a Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales and Selections from Related Documents*, John T. McNeil and Helena M. Garner, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 50-1.
[301] Tentler, *Sin and Confession,* 65. Though Tentler's study excludes those manuals written in England, many of the texts he does mention were either translated into English or republished in their original language in England.

writen in this lytyl boke ought the priests to lerne and teche to theyr paryshes: And also it is necessary for symple priests that understode not the Scriptures. . . . [And to] moveth the people that ben symple more to devocion."[302] The aim was to take seemingly unattainable theology and make it available for "symple priests," so that they in turn could pass on this knowledge to the laypeople, to "move them to more devotion." De Roye's manual, *The Doctrine of Sapyence* divides the sacrament of penance into three rigorous and standardized steps: "that the synners be reconsyled to god thre thinges be requysyte that is to wete confessyon contricon and satyssfacion."[303] Caxton printed a later edition for laypersons; the only difference was that the instructions for saying mass were removed in the second printing.[304]

The traditional sacrament of penance demanded participation in the three parts: the penitent must be contrite, confess his or her sins, and perform acts of satisfaction before reaping the grace of divine forgiveness. Contrition proved problematic for clergy: how could the confessor determine whether or not the penitent was genuinely sorry for his sins? Mirk's definition of contrition reveals Thomas Aquinas' influence: [305] The penitent must "have playne remyssyon of hys synnys, he most be full contryte, Þat ys, ynwardly sory for hys synnys and his gyltes; and so shryve hym clene, and be yn full purpos never forto synne more."[306] Both Aquinas's and Mirk's definitions place a definite emphasis on the psychological condition of the sinner. The sinner must be "ynwardly sory" and "voluntarily assume" these feelings of guilt. Just as the sinner had agency in

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[302] Gui de Roye, *The Doctrine of Sapyence*, translated by William Caxton (London, 1489), A1^{r}.
[303] de Roye, *The Doctrine of Sapyence*, K6^{v}.
[304] Duffy, *Stripping* 56.
[305] Thayer, *Penitence*, 53.
[306] A fuller discussion on Aquinas' definition is given in the Introduction. Mirk, *Festial*, 74.

committing the sin, it is up to him or her to initiate the first step of contrition. `

However, contrition alone is not enough to atone for the person's sin: the entire penitential process must be completed. In his treatise on the Penitential Psalms, John Fisher wrote, "It is not ynough for a penytent to be contryte for his synnes, but also he must shewe themm all unto a preest his ghostly fader."[307] Once the sinner has shown contrition, the focus moves from the inner, spiritual state to outward actions as the sinner makes a "clene schryft" by confessing his or her sins.This second step in the sacrament of penance was not an opportunity for the sinner to produce an introspective oral diary with impunity, but to give details on sins committed so that the priest could then assign the correct acts of penance, which once completed, gave access to divine forgiveness. *Jacob's Well*, *An Englisht Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience* is typical of the spiritual volumes available to English religious communities during the fifteenth century. Divided into short, succinct prose chapters, the text could be used for regular (if not weekly) reading or recitation. *Jacob's Well* provides a checklist of sorts for performing this second step of confession correctly:

> Telle also ryȝt what synne Þou hast do, & where Þou dydest Þat synne, in pryve place or opyn place, in holy place or oÞer place, dedyst Þi sinne alone or wuth helpe & strengthe of oÞere, or be oÞeres counfort. telle ryȝtly how manye, & whiche Þou hast harmyd be procuring of oÞere, or be Þin owyn steryng to synne.[308]

This is only a small selection of the suggested phrases for priests to use when discovering the circumstances surrounding a given sin. The sinner is enjoined to

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[307] John Fisher, *This treatise concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Davyd the kynge [and] prophete in the seven penytencyall psalmes* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1508), cc.vii^{v}.
[308] *Jacob's Well*, 184.

comb his or her memory to confess the specifics of the sin, which will then enable the priest to make an appropriate assignment of penance. John Mirk's other extant work, a long poem entitled *Instructions for Parish Priests* further explains the priest's interrogative role by giving this injunction:

> Now confessour I warne Þe,
> Here connynge Þow moste be,
> Wayte Þat Þow be slegh & fel
> To understonde hys schryft wel (1511-1514)
>
> First Þow moste Þys mynne,
> What he ys Þat doth Þe synne,
> WheÞer hyt be heo or he,
> ȝonge or olde, bonde or fre,
> Pore or ryche, or in offys (1517-1521)
>
> What synne hyt ys and how I-wroȝt,
> To wyte redyly spare Þow noght,
> WheÞer hyt be gret or small,
> Open or hud wyte Þow al.
> Lechery, robbery, or monslaȝt,
> Byd hym telle even straȝt.
> For summe telleÞ not here synne al (1531-1537)
>
> Hyt ys to luyte for any mon
> To say he hath slayn a mon.
> But ȝef he telle hyt openly,
> What mon he was, wharfore, & why (1541-1544).[309]

[309] John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Edward Peacock (London: Early English Text Society, 1868). Eamon Duffy writes that this poem is actually derived from one of the "best-known" pastoral manuals, William of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* from the early fourteenth century. Mirk seems to have translated it into English without significantly changing its content (*Stripping*, 54 & 55).

It was not enough for the sinner to confess to murder, he or she must also tell why the murder took place, what the motivation was, how it was done, where it was done, how he or she felt during the act, and so on. Mirk warns that "full contricion with schryft" must be produced, for without a full confession (with all of the details), no one, not even the Pope could offer the sinner forgiveness.[310] Should the sinner falter, priests could use the questions contained in confession manuals to spur the penitent's memory. Alternatively, the priest could take the sinner through a basic catechism of the seven deadly sins or the Ten Commandments in an effort to aid memory.[311] If the sinner confessed all of the details of his or her sin, more could be forgiven, which in turn meant less time spent in purgatory atoning for the sin.

The *Omnis utriusque sexus* carried this warning for the priest: "Let him carefully inquire about the circumstances of both the sinner and the sin, so that he may prudently discern what sort of advice he ought to give and what remedy to apply."[312] Scholars look at the resulting increasing interrogative trend of the middle and later medieval period as being greatly influenced by Jean Gerson (1363-1429), chancellor of the University of Paris.[313] Gerson's influence is due not only to his prominent clerical office, but also to his prolific writing on the standardization of the sacrament of penance.[314] Gerson urged the priest to seek a complete accounting of thoughts and actions in an effort not only to absolve but also to educate and impart doctrine. Most priests were probably neither

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[310] *Festial*, 74.
[311] Duffy, *Stripping*, 59.
[312] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 245.
[313] Ford, *John Mirk's Festial*, 37; Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 45; John Bossy, "The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 25 (1975): 36. Jean Gerson's popularity can be seen well into the sixteenth century. Henry VII's mother commissioned one of his works to be translated into English and published: *A full devout and gostely treatyse*, translated by William Atkinson (London, 1504).
[314] Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 46.

negligent in this method of spiritual care, nor, on the other extreme, overbearing; but likely had a more moderated approach to confession. Yet this theoretical obligation to confess multitudinous details of a year's worth of sins to a priest would be one of the factors in the assault on the sacrament by later reformers.

The penitential process reaches its climax in the step of satisfaction. Up to this point the sinner has been proving to the priest that he or she is sorrowful while confessing all of the (often intimate) details surrounding the sins. With satisfaction, the sinner waits for the priest to speak and assign the acts of penance, which will compensate for the sins committed. Almsgiving, fasting, and prayers were often assigned as acts of penance. Anselm, an eleventh-century theologian defines satisfaction this way: "to pay to God one's debt of honor."[315] Anselm's influence would infuse writing on the penitential process with an economic language of debts and measurements along with language implying a feudal relationship with God.[316] The last step of satisfaction takes much from Anselm's theological framework: the sinner owes a debt to God, which he or she can fulfill by performing certain acts of merit assigned by the priest at the end of the sacrament. In describing this last step of penance, *Jacob's Well* shows this economic influence: "Satysfaccyoun is to fulfylle Þi penaunce enjoyned of Þe preest, & to pay Þi dettys to qwyke & dede & to holy cherche, & to restore Þat Þou hast falsely gett."[317]

Even though the Catholic Church still held that one's eternal destiny was

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[315] Anselm quoted by Johannes of Werden, *de Tempore*, in Thayer, *Penitence*, 66. This source is an example of the standardization of sacramental theology. Anselm was writing in the eleventh century, and yet Werden's sermon collection was printed in Germany in 1498 with little change from Anselm's original.
[316] For a summary of Anselm's influences on sacramental theology, particularly in the use of economic language, see Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of the Keys: Confession, Conscience, and authority in Sixteenth-Century Germany* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 31-3.
[317] *Jacob's Well*, 189.

secured by the blood of Christ's sacrifice, the sinner's standing in heaven (or purgatory) would be determined by these personal actions of merit. After assigning penances, some priests might say to the penitent, "May whatever good you do be effective for the remission of your sins."[318] Completing these acts assigned by the priest may not have affected one's eternal destiny, but it certainly affected one's eternal comfort. The penitent's temporal body had to be mortified to atone for the sins committed by his or her eternal soul. The eleventh-century theologian Peter Lombard warned that if the sinner died without having completed the appropriate amount of penance, "he will feel the fire of purgatory and he will be more harshly punished than if he had completed his penance here."[319] In his treatise on the Penitential Psalms, John Fisher tells sinners:

> to wayle, to wepe, to faste, & to abstayne from the voluptous pleasures of theyr bodyes. [W]e must eyther wepe & wayls in this lyfe with profytable wepynge teres wherwith the soule is wasshed and made clene from synne, elles shal we wayle & wepe after this lyfe with unprofytable teres which intollerably shall scalde & brenne our bodyes.[320]

It was in the step of satisfaction that the layperson would have had the most personal, and perhaps, long-lasting experience with the sacrament of penance. Karen Wagner explains that for the laity, "penance would have been an event that was experienced: something seen, heard, and felt; it was something done rather than discussed. . . . Certainly they [the laity] would have heard sermons about penance but their primary encounter with it would have been

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[318] Translation of "Quicquid boni feceris sit tibi in remissionem peccatorum tuorum." from Kelly, "Penitential Theology," 272.
[319] Quoted in Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, 319.
[320] Fisher, T*reatise concernynge the fruytfull saynges*, cc.vii^{r}.

their own physical and emotional experience of it."[321] It was in the acting out and performing of the acts of penance that the laity could *feel* the reality of the sacrament. Temporal punishments may have varied over the history of the Church, but they have always been rooted in physical expression. Just as the penitent sinned bodily, he or she had to atone for that sin with a physical expression. And it was only after that physical experience that the sinner received assurance that those sins had been forgiven.

"Papisticall humors:" Protestant Objections to the Sacrament of Penance

Protestant reformers had concerns about each step in the sacrament of penance: How could the penitent's true spiritual contrition ever be determined? How could the penitent remember every sin (along with circumstantial details) in order to confess them to the priest? Did the priest actually have the power to issue forgiveness to the penitent? Martin Luther's own writings on the sacrament are merely one example of the shifting perspectives surrounding this doctrine. In his early writing, Luther referred to the sacrament of penance as "useful, even necessary . . . I rejoice that it exists in the church of Christ, for it is a cure without equal for distressed consciences."[322] In 1519, he wrote in his treatise "The Sacrament of Penance," "If you believe the word of the priest when he absolves you . . .then your sins are assuredly absolved also before God. . . . Should you, however, not believe that your sins are truly forgiven and removed, then you are a heathen, acting toward your Lord Christ like one who is an unbeliever."[323] Luther's writing in this pamphlet evidences the late medieval theological shift which began focusing more on the psychological state of the

[321] Wagner, " Penitential Experience," 202.
[322] Martin Luther "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," in *LW*, ed. E. Theodore Bachmann, vol. 36 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 86.
[323]Martin Luther "The Sacrament of Penance," in *LW*, 35: 13.

individual penitent, and would eventually grow into the Protestant focus on the sinner's entire spiritual relationship being rooted in his or her interior state before God. As Luther's theological framework developed, he began to move away from the traditional sacramental position that held to a regimented view of confession; instead he began to argue that confession could be made individually to God and that an entire and complete confession of one's sins was not necessary for those sins to be forgiven.[324] Later still, he would entirely reject his original acceptance of the penitential process.

One of the primary points of contention in the reformers' critique of the sacrament was the role of the priest as representative of Christ. The Catholic Church had built the idea of clerical and papal authority primarily on a passage in Matthew where Jesus says to Peter: "And I saye also unto the yt thou art Peter: & upon this rocke I wil bylde my cogregacion. And ye gates of hell shal not prevayle agaynst it. And I wil geve unto ye, the keyes of ye kyngdom of heven: And whatsoever thou byndest in erth, shall be bounde in heven: & whatsoever thou loosest in erth, shalbe lowsed in heven."[325] The Catholic Church held that this verse was proof that Christ had given a special spiritual authority to Peter, which was handed down to members of the clergy. When a priest said the final words of absolution, "I absolve you of your sins," at the end of the sacrament of penance, he was using this divinely given authority to issue forgiveness. Luther, however, argued in "The Babylonian Captivity" that this verse was not referring to sacerdotal authority used in confession and absolution, but rather that Christ was "calling forth the faith of the penitent, so that by this word of promise he

[324] Martin Luther "A Discussion on How Confession Should be Made." in *LW*, 39: 30-3.
[325] Matthew 16:19-20, *The Great Bible* (1540). For a succinct discussion on this tenet see Rittgers, *The Reformation of the Keys*, 1-8.

might be certain that is he is absolved in faith, he is truly absolved in heaven."[326] Luther further criticizes the penitential process as enslaving the penitent instead of giving spiritual freedom as the Church claimed.

> The promise of penance, however, has been transformed into the most oppressive despotism, being used to establish a sovereignty which is more than merely temporal. . . . They have sub-divided penance into three parts—contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but in such a way that have removed whatever was good in each of them, and have established in each of them their caprices and tyranny.[327]

Luther, along with others, criticized and eventually rejected the schematizing, mechanical approach of the three-part sacrament as presented in the penitential manuals. These reformers wanted to downgrade its sacramental status, questioning its efficacy for lay piety, and warned that instead of administering grace it merely produced "artists of confession" rather than people who trusted in God's mercy to forgive their sins.[328] For most reformers, confession of sins was acceptable if it was done merely as one Christian confessing to another, without a priest present. The reformers, though recognizing the spiritual benefits of confessing one's sins, rebelled against the complex formulaic process of the sacrament of penance.

John Calvin similarly rejected the traditional sacrament of penance, particularly the last step of the penitential process: satisfaction. Instead of providing the sinner with a clear conscience, Calvin argued that the quest for satisfaction only served to “torture” the sinner’s conscience; causing the sinner to never trust the completion of God's forgiveness as it must be earned through

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[326]Luther, "The Babylonian Captivity," in *LW*, 36: 83.
[327]Luther, "The Babylonian Captivity," in *LW*, 36: 83-4.
[328] Luther, "A Discussion," in *LW*, 41.

the personal good works of the penitent.[329] Recognizing the spiritual benefits that could come from confessing one's sins and being restored to a spiritual community, Calvin wrote that Christians "are to deposit our infirmities in the breasts of each other, with the view of receiving mutual counsel, sympathy, and comfort."[330] Calvinistic communities would not retain such an unstructured approach to confession, but instead, communities in Geneva and France would set up consistories. These were made up of groups of elders and ministers in the church who "censured and admonished transgressors, insisting that the offenders seek the forgiveness of God and the church in humbling and often humiliating ceremonies of private and public penitence."[331] Reformed consistories would investigate rumors of immorality and sin, eventually becoming even more intrusive than the annual personal act of penance experienced by Catholic laity.[332]

Diarmaid MacCulloch points out that as early as 1560, parts of the Protestant world, including Hungary, Transylvania and Scotland had instituted the practice of using a "repentance stool" where members of the community could come before the church and confess sins, to then be welcomed back into the community immediately after. "The ritual around this was designed to provide a theater of forgiveness that would bring an offender back into the fold of the community from outside."[333] Anne Lock's *Meditation* takes this reformed recognition of the need for confession and forgiveness and melds it with the

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[329] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdman's, 1989), III.iv.48.
[330] Calvin, *Institutes,* III.vii.540.
[331] Raymond A. Mentzer, "Notions of Sin and Penitence within the French Reformed Community." *Penitence in the Age of Reformations*, ed. Katharine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 85.
[332] For more information on the beginnings of consistories in Genva see Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 121-43.
[333] MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 598.

traditional process of penance presenting her reader with a type of "repentance stool." Instead of placing oneself before the corporate body of believers, Lock's reader sits on the "repentance stool" before Conscience and before God. As Kimberly Ann Coles similarily points out, Lock's reader was not intended to merely read passively, but to actively and spiritually participate:

> Lok's poetry manufactures the process by which the [Holy] Spirit is summoned. Lok is not simply employing the persuasive powers of lyric poetry in order to compel the experience of penitence in the reader; rather, the act of reading the poem(s) causes the individual to perform it.[334]

In her *Meditation,* Lock provides her reader with an opportunity to take on the speaker's voice and become the "I" of the sonnets as he or she reads through this new process of repentance. She provides a new kind of manual for guiding the conscience.

Anne Lock: Translator, Writer, Protestant

The *Livre des Anglois*, the register of exiles in Geneva, records the arrival of "Anne Locke, Harrie her Sonne, and Anne her daughter, and Katherine her maide" in early May 1557.[335] Anne Lock, the wife of Henry Lock, was escaping the reign of Mary I, seeking safety in Calvin's new community.[336] The Locks had

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[334] Kimberly Ann Coles, *Religion, Reform, and Women's Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 133.
[335] Quoted in Susan Felch, "Introduction," *The Collected Works of Anne Vaughan Lock* (Tempe, Arizona: Renaissance English Text Society, 1999), xxv.
[336] Anne Vaughan Lock's name, like that of many who lived in the sixteenth century, does not seem to have had a fixed spelling. Some scholars use the "Locke" spelling taken from some contemporary documents. Others attempt to link her with her poet son, Henry who was primarily known by "Lok." I have chosen to spell the author's name "Lock," for three reasons. First, Susan Felch

housed religious dissidents who would be executed by the crown, and this was perhaps one of the reason Anne was escaping London.[337] By the time Lock arrived back in London two and a half years later, she likely brought with her the ideas, perhaps even the finished manuscript, for her translations of four of John Calvin's sermons as well as her sonnet sequence, *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*.[338]

Anne Vaughan Lock's time in Geneva was not her only connection to the reformed movement; she also had extensive familial, personal, and marital connections. Her father, the merchant, Stephen Vaughan served under Henry VIII as a diplomat to the Continent where he interacted with William Tyndale and other Protestant reformers.[339] Vaughan took a personal interest in his children's education, selecting a tutor with Protestant leanings.[340] The Vaughan

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who edited the MLA scholarly edition of the Collected Works favors this spelling. Second, in the flyleaf of the British Library's copy of Sermons of John Calvin (which is one of only two extant copies) an inscription on the flyleaf reads, "Liber Henrici Lock ex dono Annæ uxoris suæ. 1559," which seems to mark this volume as belonging to the Lock family. Third, "Lock" is the primary address used in John Knox's correspondence with Anne.

[337] June Waudby, "Text and Context: a Re-evaluation of Anne Locke's Meditation." (PhD dissertation, University of Hull, 2006), 58-9. Waudby's chapter, "Martyrs and 'maist especiall freindis'" outlines the connections between the Locks and religious dissidents. She also puts forth the theory that the Locks' residence was most likely located near one of London's prime sites of execution.

[338] John Knox wrote Lock a letter in February when she was apparently still in Geneva, see John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, (Edinburgh: Woodrow Society, 1895), 6:11. Christopher Warley places Lock in Frankfurt, a center of book trade in March 1559 where she could have read and been influenced by Tottel's Miscellany. She had certainly returned to London by June 1559. See Christopher Warley, *Sonnet Sequences and Social Distinction in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 53 and Felch, "Introduction," *Collected Works*, xxvi. As her book was published at the New Year in 1560, Lock very well could have already begun work on her translations or poetry while in Geneva.

[339] David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), 208-17.

[340] One of Vaughan's letters describes the tutor as teaching ideas that could be considered heretical by contemporaries (most likely non-conformist doctrine) but the tutor was "a very good Latin man . . . a good Grecian, and speaketh well

family had business dealings with Sir Thomas Wyatt and Aemilia Lanyer's family.[341] Her mother was employed as a silk woman for both Anne Boleyn and Catherine Parr.[342] Anne Lock was not only a friend and confidante of John Knox, who frequently stayed with the Locks, but she also debated with him on theological issues.[343] After Knox's death, Lock gave one of his manuscripts to the publisher John Field. Field wrote that Knox "in respect of perticuler friendship himself" gave Lock the manuscript, and he further labeled Lock as "no young scholler in his [God's] schoole."[344] After her first husband Henry Lock died, Anne went on to marry twice more. Her second husband was the fiery preacher Edward Dering labeled by Patrick Collinson as the "Elizabethan Savonarola."[345] And her third husband was a lesser-known merchant by with the last name of "Prowse." Lock's literary accomplishments also attach her to the reformist movement. In addition to the four sermons by John Calvin that she translated

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the French tongue." J.S. Brewer, James Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, ed. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 1509-1547 vol. 21.2: 52. For more information on Lock's knowldege and use of French, see Charles A. Huttar, "Translating French Proverbs and Idioms: Anne Locke's Renderings from Calvin." *Modern Philology* 96 (Nov. 1998): 158-83.

[341] Muir, *Life*, 131, 137. Susan Woods, "Anne Lock and Aemilia Lanyer: A Tradition of Protestant Women Speaking." in *Form and Reform in Renaissance England: Essays in Honor of Barbara Kiefer Lewalski*. eds. Amy Boesky and Mary Thomas Crane (London: Associated University Presses, 2000), 172.

[342] Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, 6: 559, 19.2:724.

[343]Robert Louis Stevenson was the first to argue the great asset that Anne Lock's friendship was to John Knox's personal life; see, "John Knox and his Relations to Women" in *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1895), 328-97. Lock and Knox had a rather extensive correspondence, but the original letters no longer exist. For transcriptions of Knox's correspondence, see John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, vol. 4, 5, 6 (Edinburgh: Woodrow Society, 1895). Susan M. Felch argues for Lock's strong influence on Knox and other reformist circles, see "The Public Life of Anne Vaughan Lock: Her Reception in England and Scotland," in *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communites of Letters*, ed. Julie D. Campbell and Anne R. Larsen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 137-158.

[344] *A notable and comfortable exposition of M. John Knoxes, upon the fourth of Mathew* (London, 1583), A2^{r}, A3^{v}.

[345] Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Methuen, 1982), 135.

from French, she also translated several of the staunch reformer John Taffin's sermons entitling the volume *Of the Markes of the Children of God* (1590).[346]

The title page of Taffin's sermons declares that they were "translated out of the French by Anne Prowse." In 1590 Anne Vaughan Lock Dering Prowse's name appeared as the editor and translator, but thirty years previously, her *Sermons of John Calvin* were signed only with "A.L."[347] In that earlier text, following the epistle and just before the twenty-six sonnets that make up *Meditation* an editorial note reads: "I have added this meditation folowyng unto the ende of this boke, not as parcel of maister Calvines worke, but for that it well agreeth with the same argument, and was delivered me by my frend with whom I knew I might be so bolde to use & publishe it as pleased me."[348] Scholars of the early twentieth century often assumed that the "I" of the prefatory note is Anne Lock, leading them to believe that she did not author the sonnet sequence. With this supposition, ecclesiastical historians Roland Bainton and William Stull wanted to claim the sonnets as Knox's creation, but neither go quite so far quite so far as Lewis Lupton when he wrote that the doctrine in the sonnets "is so fiercely masculine that it must be by Knox."[349] In spite of this gendered

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[346] For more information on Lock's access to Calvin's sermon manuscripts see Felch, "Introduction," *The Collected Works*, xlix-lii. John Taffin, *Of the Marks of the Children of God, and of Their Comforts in Afflictions*, (London: Thomas Orwin, 1590).

[347] Sermons, A8^{r}. For a further discussion on the use of initials by early modern writers, including Anne Lock, see Marcy North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[348] Sermons, Aa1^{r}.

[349] Roland H. Bainton "Anne Locke" in *Women of the Reformation: From Spain to Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977), 89-94; William Stull, "'Why Are Not "Sonnets" Made of Thee?' A New Context for the 'Holy Sonnets' of Donne, Herbert, and Milton," *Modern Philology* 80 (Nov. 1982) 129-35. Lewis Lupton, *A History of the Geneva Bible* (London: Olive Tree, 1976), 8:9. Even Patrick Collinson ventured that the sonnets "are perhaps Knox's work," "The Role of Women in the English Reformation Illustrated by the Life

assignment of the sequence's authorship, there is no evidence that Anne Lock possessed any other works by Knox other than a short theological work printed by John Field, much less innovative poetry written by a man who had no such recorded talent.[350] As a result, other critics including Margaret Hannay, Thomas Roche, Jr., Susan M. Felch, and Michael Spiller have argued that Lock is the probable author of the sonnet sequence.[351] I would also argue, along with Coles and Hannay, that another possible author of the editorial note could be the printer.[352] Printer's notes were not uncommon, and we have already seen that John Field would insert a prefatory note in another volume connected to Lock. John Day may be the "I" of the note, writing that Lock had given him the sonnets so that he "might be so bolde to use & publishe it as pleased" him. [353] Whether the "I" was the printer or Lock trying to hide her literary accomplishments, both the epistle and the sonnet sequence show a unity which points to a single author.

Margaret Hannay argues that internal "verbal echoes," including diction and vocabulary, in both the dedicatory letter, signed "A.L" and *Meditation* point to one author of the entire text.[354] Furthermore, both pieces contain similar content. In the dedicatory epistle, Lock mentions two kings as examples for the

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and Friendships of Anne Locke," *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 280.

[350] There is a small selection of poetry that was at one time attributed to Knox, but is most likely a reprinting of the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter, see Rosalind Smith, *Sonnets and the English Woman Writer, 1560-1621: The Politics of Absence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 18.

[351] Margaret Hannay, "'Unlock my lips': the Miserer mei Deus of Anne Vaughan Lok and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke," in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. Jean R. Brink (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1993) 19-36; Thomas Roche, Jr., *Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences* (New York: AMS Press, 1989), 155; Michael Spiller, *The Development of the Sonnet: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1992), 92; Susan M. Felch, "'Curing the Soul: Anne Lock's Authorial Medicine," *Reformation* 2 (1997) 7-38.

[352] Hannay, "Unlock my lips'" cited in Coles, *Religion, Reform*, 126 fn. 71.

[353] Sermons, Aa1^{r}.

[354] Hannay, "Unlock my lips," 21.

reader to follow: Hezekiah and David. Hezekiah is the central character from the sermons' text. And as shown earlier in this thesis, Psalm 51 has been traditionally considered a Davidic Psalm. This Davidic reference suggests that the author at least knew the sonnets would be published with the sermons in the same volume. But perhaps the strongest piece of internal evidence pointing to Lock as the author is the use of medicinal and corporeal imagery in connection with the diseased state of the sinful soul throughout the latter sections of the volume. She outlines medicalized concepts of the soul in the dedicatory epistle, and as I discuss below, she continues to explore those concepts within the sonnets, where a penitent speaker is presented who voices personal corporeal sufferings connected to his or her sin. Consequently, the sonnet sequence attempts to provide the penitent speaker with a ritual of confession and forgiveness that differs from the traditional sacrament of penance, whilst drawing upon it.

"Suche remedye as here is conteined can no Philosopher, no Infidele, no Papist minister:" Lock's Modified Penitential Process

By the Lenten Season of 1555, Mary I had enacted religious reforms requiring all laypersons to participate once again in the annual sacrament of penance.[355] This returned the sacrament, with all of its attending parts of contrition, confession, and satisfaction, and its connection to the Penitential Psalms to the forefront of religious experience. Anne Lock would thus have been quite familiar with the process of the sacrament, particularly as she and her children did not arrive in Geneva until 1557.[356] She would not have been ignorant of the sacramental resonances that the Penitential Psalms carried, yet,

[355] Duffy, *Fires*, 17.
[356] Felch, "Introduction," *Collected*, xxv.

like other reformed writers in her circle, she may well have been skeptical of the individual's use of these psalms in cleansing him or herself from sin by following the traditional sacramental process. Instead of recommending an unburdening of conscience through the sacrament of penance, *Meditation* offers a non-sacramental path of first sorrowing over sins followed by the vocalization of those sins before God. Lock's *Meditation* modifies the traditional sacramental process, rejecting the parts that the reformed community found onerous and unscriptural while retaining the spiritual benefits accepted by the reformed community at the time. Hannibal Hamlin has pointed out a similar instance of Lock's attempt to reconcile the theological past with the present in her treatment of original sin, but to date no one has examined her attempt to reconcile the historical and theological complexity found in her *Meditation* and its dedicatory epistle.[357]

At first glance, the sacrament of penance as seen in medieval penitential manuals may appear quite linear and straightforward: the penitent showed contrition, confessed his or her sins, performed acts of penance, and was then forgiven. The traditional sacrament seems simple with a proscribed practice that could be progressed through, completed, and accomplished. The sacramental process, however, was fraught with risk for both the penitent and the administering priest. While it had clear steps that had to be completed, each one could be subverted by any number of circumstances: What if the penitent didn't produce enough external evidence for his or her contrition? What if all of the intricate details of a sin could not be remembered and then could not be confessed? What if the priest ascribed acts of penance which were either insufficient or, on the other hand, too difficult for the penitent to complete? If

[357] Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 185.

any of these or other scenarios occurred, the sacrament could not be completed, and the grace contained within it could not be administered, which would mean that the penitent would not be forgiven. These complications are perhaps the reason why so many penitential manuals focus on the proper administration and completion of the sacrament.

The *Meditation* sonnets instead show a cyclical progression as the speaker weaves back and forth between contrition and confession. However, rather than simply moving in a circular motion, the sinner eventually spirals forward towards a form of satisfaction and forgiveness. This tight, cyclical progression keeps the reader focused on the sinner's internal landscape. While Lock overtly criticizes the traditional sacramental process in her dedicatory epistle, she draws upon the long history of sacramental tradition and offers a new form of a repentant process in the sonnet sequence. In doing so, she adds a new step to the traditional penitential process, here named 'incorporation.' Lock's experiences in Geneva and her attempt to manage her return to newly Protestant England informed this step of incorporation. I have chosen the term *incorporation* because it points up the importance of the penitent's acceptance back into the community, but also, with its etymology, this word emphasises the corporeality that runs throughout Lock's dedication and sonnet sequence.[358]

Lock had been an active member in the Genevan Community where she likely heard Calvin's four sermons on Hezekiah preached in November 1557, and soon after translated the sermons from the transcripts produced by Calvin's scribe.[359] June Waudby even speculates that one of the scribes for this section of his sermons on Isaiah actually was Anne Lock.[360] The Geneva community

[358] "Enbodiement: an embodied realization." OED, incorporation 4.
[359] Felch, "Introduction," The Collected Works, xlix.
[360] Waudby,"Text and Context," 204.

encompassed displaced peoples from several different societal circles and varied nationalities, including French, Swiss, and English, and Scottish peoples. Living in this diverse community would have made Lock even more aware of her assorted reading audience. Published in the early months of 1560, these sonnets appeared to the public (with the obligatory dedication to Her Majesty) shortly after Elizabeth's ascent to the throne. Lock's sonnet sequence endeavors to navigate the rough roads of a newly Protestant theological landscape by reconciling the theological past with new devotional strains while seeking to appeal to a diverse readership.

Questions surrounding Lock's audience are central to recent political readings of the *Meditation.* Rosalind Smith's analysis of the dedicatory epistle and the sonnets leads her to argue that Lock was subtly targeting Queen Elizabeth in an effort to instruct the newly crowned monarch. Smith sees the epistle, with its address to the Duchess, as concerned with "invoking and defining the relationship and extant of duty between author and ideally Protestant patron in the epistle . . . and between subjects and an ideally Protestant sovereign in the sermons."[361] Additionally, Smith sees the reference in the dedicatory epistle to the two kings David and Hezekiah as a clear sign that Lock is speaking to both the Duchess and the Queen. The Geneva Psalter published in 1559 just a year before Lock's volume was printed, also contained a direct address to Elizabeth, so Smith's conjecture of a royal reader could be possible.[362] However, this may underestimate the complexity of Lock's imagined readership. Lock had come from the Genevan community that had a diverse group of members who had come seeking shelter and community from various social and national backgrounds. Teresa Nugent considers Lock's background

[361] Smith, *Sonnets*, 30.
[362] *The Boke of Psalmes* (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1559).

and disagrees with Rosalind Smith, pointing out that Lock's use of "spiritual abjection" in her sonnets marks the godly as being dedicated and subject to God, not a "specific political leader."[363] Susan Felch has argued that Lock's personal correspondence with John Knox highlights her recognition of hierarchical relationships within a susprisingly ungendered rhetoric.[364] By the time Lock arrived in Geneva, Calvin had already had difficulties with the government and tensions had developed between the church and the political structure. With this type of diversified and, at times troubled community, it is more likely that Katherine Brandon and Elizabeth I were addressees of Lock's because they were members of the larger, more diverse community of the Church, not due to their political status or gender.

Lock is clear that even within the reformed community, sinners would need to repent. For her, the way to salvation is not through political power, but rather in having a "healthy soule."[365] Her epistle outlines the distinction between those who take the correct spiritual medication for their ills and those who take the wrong medicine altogether. Describing the soul with medicalized terms was a conceit used often in medieval penitential manuals. Medieval manuals would use medical vocabulary and images to discuss the sacrament of penance. The confessor gave "treatment . . . effective toward the recovery of the health that has been lost through sin," particularly in the final step of satisfaction.[366] Acts of penance, or satisfaction, were performed as a method of spiritual healing. The writer of *Jacob's Well* uses this metaphor of spiritual healing, and points out that complete healing cannot take place without satisfactory acts of penance:

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[363] Teresa Nugent, "Anne Lock's Poetics of Spiritual Abjection," *ELR*, 39 (Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 23.
[364] Susan M. Felch, "'Deir Sister': The letters of John Knox to Anne Vaughan Lok" *Renaissance and Reformation* 19.4 (1995): 62.
[365] Lock, "To the Right Honorable," A2^{v}
[366] McNeil and Garner, *Medieval*, 45.

> For Þowȝ Þi wound, Þi sore, & Þin hurte, be delyveryd fro deed flesch, Þat is, of dedly synne, be Þe corrysie of contricyoun, & also made clene, with drawynge salve of confessioun, ȝit, it nedyth to be helyd up, with an helyng salve of satisfaccyoun, elly it wolde be style sore & nevre hole.[367]

However, in Lock's theological paradigm, these medicalized comparisons do not merely provide an allegorical vocabulary for discussion about the soul. Instead, the health and condition of the soul will actually affect the state of the physical body. Lock warns that a sickened soul and a blighted conscience will eventually be harmful to the person's entire body.

Lock's presentation of the connnections between one's body and soul is consistent with the complicated, sometimes inconsistent reformed view of the human body, which developed at the end of sixteenth-century. Both traditional, medieval-era Catholics and late sixteenth-century Calvinists would have agreed that the conscience was integral to defining what it meant to be human; the crux of disagreement would have come by looking at the place of the body in the penitent (or repentant) process.[368] For the traditional sacrament of penance, the body could be used to restore the soul's spiritual standing, to pay back one's debt to God through acts of penance. This was a system of exterior works proceeding inwardly to the metaphysical and unseen plane. Reformed thinking, particularly present in Anne Lock's work, seems to have conceived of the soul as sickened and flawed by default, which then caused bodily suffering. But it was equally within the power of the soul to dominate the behaviour and actions of

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[367] *Jacob's Well*, 188.
[368] Erica Fudge presents an excellent examination of the conscience as the defining characteristic of humanity, see *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 34-63.

the body.[369] The resulting approved behaviour came from the soul's redeemed condition and was therefore expected, rather then seen as acts of meritorious favour in a spiritual system.

In her epistle, Lock outlines two categories that encompass all of humanity. First, there are those people who may encounter hardship, but are not affected by it because they have acquired correct spiritual knowledge.

> Some men beynge oppressed with povertie, tossed with worldlye adversitye, tourmented with payne, soreness, and sicknes of body . . . Yet having theyr myned armed and fournished with prepared patience, and defence of inward understandyng . . . [they act] as if such afflictions were not of such nature as other commonly de fele them.[370]

The second group of people may be "flowing in earthly wealth and suffiance . . . and every waye to the worldes seeming blessed: yet with mynde not well instructed, or with conscience not well quieted . . . [and so they] are vexed above measure."[371] Lock's concludes that physical sufferings or other trials can only cause harm "as they approch to touch the mind, and assaile the soule."[372] The well-being of the sinner's soul can supersede physical pleasures or trials: the "peines and diseases of minde and soule are not only the most grevous and most daungerous, but also they onely are peinfull and perillous."[373] At times in her epistle, Lock's descriptions of the sin-sickened soul portray not a dualistic vision of humans, but a highly physicalized theory of a soul which has now merged

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[369] For a further examination of the Calvinistic "war" of dominion over the body see Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge Press, 1995), 18-22.
[370] Lock, "To the Right Honorable," A2^{r}.
[371] ibid, A2^{r-v}.
[372] ibid, A2^{v}.
[373] ibid, A2^{v}.

with the body. In this description, the pains of the soul have superseded the body, so much so that the soul has now merged with the body as the sinner's primary means of encountering pain. With the fusion of soul and the body in her epistle, Lock is able to include the whole person in her indictment of sickness and sin. This overtaking soul can be contrasted with the more dualistic presentation found in Lock's second translated sermon of Calvin's: "[Hezekiah's physical illness] was great in it selfe: but that was nothing in comparison of the conceiving of God's wrath, when he behelde his sinnes, and knewe God to be armed against him."[374] Calvin's sermon describes God's violent wrath towards the sinner which is felt in the body and the soul.

With the intermediary of the priest removed, the sinner's interior psychological plane is the focal point for the moments of contrition, confession, and repentance which are only seen by God. Yet, as Lock portrays the sinner's realization of committed sins, she contrasts and links the "peines and diseases of minde and soule" with those of the corporeal body by discussing the deleterious affects sin can have on the sinner's physical body. Her focus is upon the sinner's inner states. Yet we read that physical weaknesses are caused by the "daungerous disease of the felyng of Gods wrath kindled against him."[375] The sinner "being striken with the mightie hande of God, feleth him selfe unable to stande, [with] no soundnes in his bodye . . . no helpe of nature to resist the violence of that disease that Gods displeasure hath laide upon him."[376] Though sin, confession, forgiveness, and repentance are all to take place on a plane occupied by the sinner and God alone, in Lock's epistle the spiritual realm permeates the sinner's physical state. This graphic, even violent description of

[374] Calvin, *Sermons*, C8^{v}.
[375] Lock, "To the Right Honorable," A5^{r}.
[376] ibid, A5^{r}.

the sinner's weakness under the convicting hand of God foreshadows the turmoil that the speaker of the sonnets will describe. The epistle explains that the only hope for those with this "sicke stomacke of mynde" caused by a disquieted conscience is to seek medicine from "trewe belevyng Christians."[377]

Throughout both the epistle and the *Meditation,* Lock's corporeal metaphors balance the paradoxical Calvinistic doctrine of the sovereignty of God and the predestination of the soul against the individual's personal choice. The onus for choosing the correct medication lies with the sinner. He or she will choose either "unholsome stuffe" or true medicine: a belief in "Gods moste stedfast and unchangeable purpose . . . healeth the Christians sickness."[378] In addition to this belief, the sinner must show "true repentaunce" to "purge the oppresing humors."[379] As in the penitential manuals, both repentance and sorrow are necessary for the sinner to achieve a healed soul. In the sacrament of penance, the way to healing for the penitent may be regulated by the priest, but the sinner must choose to begin the process of contrition. In contrast, Lock's Calvinistic view of repentance is initiated when the sinner is "wounded with the justice of God."[380] This may be continued by the sinner, but the sinner is never the one who initiates the process of repentance. The epistle attempts to wrap up the balance of the sinner's free will and God's actions in the sinner's life neatly into one metaphor: "beyng wounded with the justice of God that hateth sinne, he [the sinner] knoweth how with the mercy of the same God that pardoneth sinne to have hys peine asswaged and hurt amended."[381] The wrath of God that wounds also contains the antidote that heals, but that process is contingent upon the

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[377] Lock, "To the Right Honorable," A4^{r}.
[378] ibid, A6^{r}
[379] ibid, A7^{r}
[380] ibid, A5^{v}.
[381] ibid, A5^{v}.

sinner choosing the right medication.

Two medicines are available to the sickened sinner. The first medicine made up of "grosse faithlesse and papisticall humors" and administered by "papisticall soulesleaers," only serves to further infect the person's body and soul.[382] Lock's epistle then moves from attacking the "helpe of papistes" in general, to attacking acts of penance specifically:

> If we thinke the helpe of papists, to begge and borrowe others Virgins oyle that have none to spare, to bye the superfluous workes of those men that say they have done more than suffiseth to satisfie Gods lawe and to deserve theyr owne salvation, to appease God with suche extraordinarie devised service as he never commaunded, and such like unholsome stuffe as papisticall soulesleaers have ministered to Christian patients: If (I say) we thinke these good and sufficient medicines: alas, we do nothinge therby, but plant untrew securitie, promise health, and performe death.[383]

In this one passage Lock identifies three false methods of "meriting" grace. First, she attacks supererogation, the idea that saints' works can be accessed by Christians on earth as a type of grace ("borrow others Virgins oyle").[384] She then attacks "bye[ing] the superfluous workes of those men" or indulgences. When Lock's sonnet sequence was published in 1560, indulgences were still being sold

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[382] ibid, A5^{r}. John Calvin uses words similarly charged with violence when attacking the sacrament of penance in his *Institutes*: Confessors "torture souls with many misgivings, and immerse them in a sea of trouble and anxiety." Calvin, *Institutes*, III.iv.1.
[383] Lock, *Sermons*, A4v-A5r.
[384] Susan Felch also mentions this idea in her edition of Lock's work; see "Introduction," *The Collected Works*, xlvii.

and reformers were arguing vehemently against their use in the Catholic Church. Not until 1563 was there any official statement from the Catholic Church, and even then The Council of Trent warned against their abuse, but did not forbid them. Lastly, she attacks acts of penance, which she labels an "extraordinarie devised service as he never commanded." This criticism picks up one of the primary reformist arguments against the sacrament of penance: why perform acts of penance assigned by a priest that God never commanded? Not only does Lock disapprove of penance, but she also goes so far as to say that these practices will lead the "sick man" to Hell. "That selly wretch flamyng in the infernall fire feleth, alas, to late that thei which gave him mans medicine to drincke, have slayne his soule."[385]

The sacrament of penance *appears* to be medicine for the sick conscience, but it is poison instead. The medicine of the sacrament promises "untrew securitie, promise[s] health, and performe[s] death."[386] Though she may pull from the theological foundations of penance, using contrition and confession, Lock leaves no question in the reader's mind that the medicine offered by "papisticall soulesleaers" gives death, spoiling the sinner "of all benefit of redemption."[387] For Lock, eternal salvation is not found in borrowing, buying, or appeasing, rather it is found in faith alone through Christ alone. Those who "seeke health in any other where than in the determined purpose of God, that hath sent his own sonne for our redemption, have spoiled him [the sinner] of all benefit of redemption."[388] The true, healing medicine is one that no "Papist [can] minister."[389]

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[385] Lock, *Sermons*, A5^{r}.
[386] ibid, A5^{v}
[387] ibid, A5^{v}.
[388] ibid, A5^{v}
[389] ibid, A5^{r}.

The dedicatory epistle declares the book to be a volume of soulful medication. Lock writes that the prescription for spiritual health has been given by God, "the heavenly Physitian" to "his most excellent Apothecarie master John Calvine" which Lock "put into an Englishe box."[390] The text provides a "newe diet," for dealing with the sickness of sin: assurance of forgiveness that comes from God's mercy. The epistle uses the subject of Calvin's sermons, Ezechias, as an example of a sinner receiving this healing medication.

> There we se the heavenly Physician anoynt [Ezechias] with the merciful Samritans oyle, purge the oppressing humors with true repentaunce, strengthen his stomack with the holsome conserve of Gods eternall decree, and expell his disease, and set hym on foote with assured faith of gods mercy. . . . And beyng healed, knowyng and hearing it confessed, that sinne was the cause and nourishment of Ezechias disease, we learne a newe diet.[391]

"True repentance" here appears quite similar to the definition given in the medieval penitential manuals; that is, "sorrow voluntarily assumed for sins with the intention to confess and to satisfy."[392] The dedicatory epistle sets up these two categories of the soul-sick sinner and the healthy, redeemed believer; of poison masquerading as medicine and medicine that can actually heal. The epistle attempts to make these dichotomies appear static and self-evident. However, in attaching matters of the soul to the real and often violent corporeal world, these divisions become less and less well defined in the sonnet sequence itself.

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[390] Lock, "To the Right Honorable," A3^{r}.
[391] ibid, A7^{r}.
[392] Aquinas qtd. in Thayer, *Penitence*, 53.

"I am but sinne:" Sin, Confession, and Bodies in *A Meditation*

The epistolary dedication to the *Sermons of John Calvin* sets out theological principles of sin and repentance, while outlining a process of contrition, confession to God and forgiveness. *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* provides an example of a sinner, who at first appears to hold to these theological principles as well. Yet, this sinner's path to forgiveness and, eventually, incorporation is not as simple as that outlined in the epistle. Instead, the sinner cycles through states of health and sickness while deliberating (and at times clashing) with his or her conscience in an effort to negotiate a relationship with an often-violent God. Lock's use of medicalized language and corporeal images continues throughout the sonnet sequence as she examines the penitent sinner's journey in seeking divine forgiveness.

The sonnet sequence is spoken entirely in a first person non-gender specific voice, unlike the dedicatory epistle, where the sinner is referenced with masculine pronouns. Christopher Warley argues that the lack of a gendered speaker in the *Meditation* is an indicator of Lock's authorship, that the sonnets' genderless "I" allows Lock to speak in a female voice.[393] Kimberly Ann Coles also reads the "figure of the religious woman" present in Lock's poems.[394] I would argue, however, the use of a genderless speaker in the *Meditation*, allows Lock's reader to identify more fully in the sonnets' devotional pathway of contrition, confession, and repentance. The epistle seems to allude to the sonnets when it says, "this boke hath not only the medicine, but also an example of the nature of the disease, and the meane how to use and apply the medicine to them that be so

[393] Warley, *Sonnet Sequences*, 60.
[394] Coles, *Religion, Reform*, 124.

diseased."[395] The volume with its direct instruction in the epistle and message in the sermons presents "medicine . . . brought from the plentifull shop and storehouse of Gods holye testament" to be used by any sinner, whatever his or her gender.[396] The sonnets function in much the same way as the *exemplum* in the penitential manuals, providing instruction through an intensely personal and engaging sequence that allows identification through a co-reading, an intermingling of both the reader and the genderless, penitent speaker through the act of reading.

The five introductory sonnets as well as the first five verse sonnets center on the contrition of the sinner and the "shame for my dede" (10.13). The speaker draws on the penitential tradition by focusing much of the opening lines of the sequence on the physical evidence of contrition: tears. Each of the five introductory sonnets mentions tears or "cries" voiced by the sinner. The sinner with "fainting breath" "crye[s] and crye[s] again" (2.13 & 14). The first sonnet takes as its central theme, "the hainous gylt of [the speaker's] forsaken ghost" (1.1). However, as the speaker plunges deeper and deeper into this guilt, proof of contrition is found not merely in the shedding of tears, but in still more severe signs of physical distress. As the speaker's psychological introspection increases the sonnet progresses from physical limitation to complete blindness.

> . . . the dimmed and fordulled eyen
> Full fraught with teares and more and more opprest
> With growing streames of the distilled bryne
> Sent from the fornace of a greafefull brest,
> Can not enjoy the comfort of the light,

[395] Lock, "To the Right Honorable," A6[r].
[396]ibid. In an effort to maintain the genderless stance of Lock's speaker, I will use the "he or she" construction, which though bulky, more accurately reflects the atmosphere of the sonnets.

Nor finde the waye wherein to walke aright. (1.9-14)

Line nine uses a repetition of adjectives which signals a descent into total darkness brought on by tears of contrition. The speaker's eyes are first only "dimmed" and "fordulled," but he or she is still able to see. The second line intensifies the physical difficulty by adding verbal repetition, as with an increase in tears as he or she is "more and more opprest." Line eleven layers on additional distress. Not only are the streams of tears "growing" but their very make-up is "distilled bryne:" they are now more potent than regular tears. As the speaker sheds these tears he or she is also shedding the ability to see. "The fornace of a grefefull brest" seems as though it should give off warmth and, perhaps, light, but instead the last couplet of this sonnet shows a speaker who now has not only "dimmed" eyes, but appears to be blinded, shut out from the light and lost in darkness, unable to "finde the waye wherein to walke" (1.13-14).

The first and second sonnets are linked both by grammatical structure and content. Like links on a chain, Lock fastens the two smoothly together as the speaker continues expounding upon his or her contrition. The last line of the first sonnet ends with a colon instead of a full stop, and the first line of the second sonnet begins with the coordinating conjunction *so*, linking the two together grammatically. The second sonnet begins:

So I blinde wretch, whome Gods enflamed ire
With pearcing stroke hath throwne unto the ground,
Ammidde my sinnes still groveling in the myre. (2.1-3)

The speaker is now completely blinded by the experience of contrition, having fulfilled Aquinas' definition of contrition and "voluntarily assumed" the

responsibility for his or her own sin.[397] The speaker now begins to encounter the metaphorical, corporeal affects of this step of repentance. The sinner may be taking full responsibility for his or her sin, yet paradoxically, God is the one who "woundes" the sinner in the first sonnet, initiating the speaker's contrition.

> The mighty wrath of myne offended Lorde,
> My Lord whos wrath is sharper than the knife,
> And deper woundes than dobleedged sworde. (1.19-21)

This idea of divine instigation continues throughout the sequence. In sonnet twenty-two, the sinner says,

> I can not pray without thy movyng ayde,
> Ne can I ryse, ne can I stande alone. (22.9-10)

In the second sonnet, God's actions go beyond prompting: he "hath throwne unto the ground" the sinner, where he or she lies "groveling in the myre" (2.2-3). These first two sonnets blend the Calvinistic doctrine of sovereignty and the Augustinian focus on free will by showing a God who strikes because of sin as well as a sinner who is simultaneously sorry for his or her sin.

Within the sonnets, God is not the only one bringing pain and disease. The sinner's conscience is imagined as a fully formed entity that engages in spiritual dialogue and whose actions cause the speaker further pain. Unlike the modern image of the conscience as a nagging feeling or a vague prompting to do right, the conscience found in *Meditation* is a fully articulate and formed *other* within the speaker's self that, at times, functions against and in opposition to the

[397] Aquinas qtd. in Thayer, *Penitence*, 53.

speaker. The conscience moves back and forth between working with and working against the speaker; this movement emphasises the cyclical process of committing sins and the cleansing of the soul, which is needed to assuage the vocal conscience. According to traditional theology, the sacrament of penance may be arduous and repetitive, but never ceases to aspire to a final stage of absolution, where the sinner could hypothetically reach an end. *Meditation*'s sonnets present a sinner who appeals to God throughout the sequence but, by the last sonnet, God has yet to respond. The sonnets' speaker receives no verbal absolution of sins, in contrast with the completion the penitent would have received within the sacrament of penance.

With the five prefatory sonnets Lock sets up the sinner's sorrow and contrition for his or her sins, as well as introducing two characters who do not appear in the biblical text: Conscience and Despair. This addition of an imagined three-way dialogue between the sinner, the Conscience, and Despair creates a counter-point to the twenty-one sonnets of the sinner's one-sided interactions with God. In sonnet three, the speaker prays to God "for graunt of grace and pardon" (3.2). Despair, not God, answers and "spreades forth [the sinner's] sinne and shame" (3.4). Despair accuses the sinner, acting much like Satan who is named as "the accuser" in I Peter 5. Despair regales the speaker with words of doubt.

> In vaine thou brayest forth thy bootlesse noyse
> To him for mercy, O refused wight,
> That heares not the forsaken sinners voice.
> Thy reprobrate and foreordeined sprite,
> For damned vessell of his heavie wrath. (3.5-9)

Despair labels the sinner as a "damned vessell of [God's] heavie wrath" and

undeserving of divine mercy, relying on the speaker's conscience as a witness to these arguments:

> As selfe witness of thy beknowyng hart,
> And secrete gilt of thine owne conscience saith. (3.18-19)

According to Despair, the sinner is beyond hope of God's mercy. Sonnet four follows with the sinner's reply to Despair. The sinner looks at the "growing sinnes" (4.3) and sees them as "profe of everlastyng hate" (4.4) from God directed against his or her "sinfull and forsaken ghost" (4.6). In 1590, thirty years after the publication of Lock's volume, Edmund Spenser published the first half of his *Faerie Queene*. In Spenser's long poem, a similar Despair tempts the Redcrosse Knight to commit suicide.[398]

Spenser's Despair asks:

> Why then doest thou, O man of sin, desire
> To draw thy dayes forth to their last degree?
> Is not the measure of thy sinfull hire
> High heaped up with huge iniquitie,
> Against the day of wrath to burden thee? (I.ix. 46-50)

Despair then warns that God's purpose is to damn those who sin.

> Is not he just, that all this doth behold
> From highest heaven, and beares an equall eye? (I.ix.47-48)

[398] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, Book I, Canto ix.

> In not his law, Let every sinner die:
> Die shall all flesh? what then must needs be donne,
> Is it not better to do willinglie,
> Then linger (I.ix.51-54)

Spenser's portrayal of Despair is strinkingly similar to Lock's. Both of the accusing enemies focus on the immensity of personal and the sinner's innability to access God's forgiveness. These themes are reminiscent of Calvin's criticisms of the sacrament of penance. Calvin writes that a sinner participating in the traditional first step of contrition focuses only on the greatness of his sins, and collapses "stricken and overthrown; humbled and cast down he trembles; he becomes discouraged and despairs."[399] Reformers would argue that contrition, as defined and practiced in the sacramental tradition, leaves the sinner incapacitated by guilt and unable to experience true repentance, which is the only thing that leads to acceptance of God's mercy and forgiveness. Though Lock's sinner should be emancipated from the traditional penitential process, he or she still experiences difficulty in accessing true sorrow over the sins committed. Yet while the specter of Despair constitutes a veiled critique of the sacrament of penance, the sonnet struggles in its effort to provide the sinner with an alternative path, leaving the sinner instead immobilized and desolate, "as in the throte of hell" the sinner "quake[s] for feare" unable to move beyond Despair's reach to achieve repentance and forgiveness (4.7).

Conscience at first seems to side with the sinner against Despair, but in the end argues against the sinner's innocence, confirming his or her fears.

> (Although by conscience wanteth to replye,

[399] Calvin, *Institutes* III.iii.3.

> But with remorse enforcing myne offence,
> Doth argue vaine my not availyng crye). (4. 7-11)

Conscience's arguments trump the sinner's protests and cries for mercy, implying a privileged knowledge of the sinner's spiritual state, much like the confessor in the sacrament of penance. The confessor's role in the penitential manuals was to judge the sins committed, assign acts of penance, and give absolution with a God-like discernment of right and wrong. *Meditation*'s conscience judges the speaker's sins as well, but in this harsher role, it accuses the sinner before God instead of acting as the intermediary priest. Reformers often theorized the conscience as an impartial judge of the sinner's heart and actions, yet consistently pursuing the sinner with the truth of his or her guilty state.[400] Calvin's third sermon, printed in the same volume just before the sonnet sequence, says that conscience "doe[s] reprove and condempne us."[401] The *Institutes* describe a similarly accusing and prosecuting conscience. Conscience "is a certain mean between God and man, for it does not allow man to suppress within himself what he knows, but pursues him to the point of making him acknowledge his guilt."[402] Unlike the Catholic confessor, the reformed conscience imagined in these prefatory sonnets is incapable of administering forgiveness and absolution for sins. Instead, because it has knowledge of the sinner's thoughts and actions, it acts as a voice of absolute truth before God, consistently niggling at the sinner's heart. The accusatory and truth-speaking Conscience prodding the sinner's heart is an apt prelude to the second conscience figure pictured in the later sonnets.

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[400] Paul Strohm's chapter provides an excellent overview of the reformed conscience, see "Conscience," In *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 206-26.
[401] Calvin, *Sermons*, F3^{r}.
[402] Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.x.3.

In the tenth sonnet, which corresponds with Ps. 51:5, Conscience makes its second appearance, in quite a different role from the prosecutorial, yet still sympathetic, speaker of the prefatory sonnets. Conscience remains interwoven with the self, but it now functions in a persecutory role. In this sonnet conscience is a torturer who exploits the connection between the soul and the body causing the sinner spiritual pain, depicted in the most bruttally physical terms.

> My cruell conscience with sharpned knife
> Doth splat my ripped hert, and layes abrode
> The lothesome secretes of my filthy life,
> And spredes them forth before the face of God.
> Whom shame from dede shamelesse cold not restrain,
> Shame for my dede is added to my paine. (10.9-14)

"Cruell conscience" sharpens its instruments and "splat[s]" open the sinner's heart, laying bare all of the "lotheseome secretes," probing the victim with calculating cruelty to ascertain the sinner's spiritual state. Conscience then "spredes them [the sins] forth before the face of God" adding shame and regret to the sinner's emotional pain. In line four of the sonnet, the sinner addressed God whose "allpearcing eye" had already seen these sins (10.4). In this case, Conscience's cutting and revelatory behavior seems to be done only to add to the sinner's punishment, as it becomes like a vivisectionist, cruelly exposing the sinner's interior state. This violent and striking picture of a reformed conscience that pursues the sinner leaves the sequence in unrest and disturbance. For Lock, the Conscience may accuse or torture the sinner, but there doesn't seem to be a defined end to this repentance process. Unlike the linear three-step sacrament of penance, the sinner in *Meditation* perpetually vacillates between sorrow and

contrition for sins and confession of those sins.

Throughout the sonnet sequence, the speaker returns again and again to the immensity of his or her sin, consistently connecting these sins to the corporeal self. Calvinistic doctrine argued that humans were inherently evil and reliant upon God's mercy to save them. Sonnet twelve roots this doctrine of "original sin" in the very creation of the sinner's body.

> For lo, in sinne, Lord, I begotten was,
> With sede and shape my sinne I toke also,
> Sine is my nature and my kinde alas,
> In sinne my mother me conceived: Lo
> I am but sinne, and sinfull ought to dye. (12. 1-5)

In the doctrine of original sin, all human beings are sinful because they are descendents from fallen Adam; whether or not the individual actually commits a sin, he or she is still inherently sinful. Hannibal Hamlin argues that unlike the traditional views on original sin, which tended to blame Eve as the source of this trait, Lock assigns culpability to both sexes. Hamlin sees the use of the word "sede" as referring to the male, and "shape" refers to the female.[403] *Meditation* contains two layers in this view of original sin. Not only does the speaker view himself or herself as the product of two sinful gendered beings, but here Lock's choice in not assigning gender to her speaker becomes even more persuasive; she is embracing both genders in a sweeping accusation of responsibility that is rooted in both nature and action. The speaker declares that the very make up of a person is sinful. "Such was my roote, such is my juyse within" (12. 8). And yet the sinner refuses to use this as blame for the sins committed, rather, the speaker says, "I plead not this as to excuse my blame, / On kynde or parentes myne

[403] *Psalm Culture*, 185.

owne gilt to lay" (12.9-10). The speaker's declaration of culpability is striking, marked out even more by Lock's break in the clause between lines four and five: "Lo / I am but sinne, and sinfull ought to dye." By placing the subject "I" at the start of line five, the syntactical equivalence is lyrically underlined: "I am . . . sinne."

Throughout the sonnet sequence, the speaker avoids naming specific sins, which is in stark contrast to the traditional penitential process, which insisted that the sinner name each sin, along with the numerous circumstances surrounding that sin. The traditional penitential process tended to use a language of economy: a sinner might commit a sin, but could usually perform a certain amount of penitential acts to atone for these sins and thereby access God's grace. By the late medieval period, the sacrament of penance could often appear much like a menu: if a sin was committed, the priest merely had to assign the correct amount of penitence, and forgiveness could be given. Reformed soteriology argued, however, that all sins were equal and were therefore atoned for in the same way: through Christ's sacrifice, not acts of penance. Martin Luther wrote, "the most mortal of all mortal sins is not to believe that one is guilty of damnable and mortal sin. . . .[before God one must simply say:] all that I am, whatever I say or do, is mortal and damnable."[404] By not listing the type of sin the speaker is repentant for, the sonnets affirm this idea that all sin is equal.

Sonnet eight exemplifies this theme of the unnamed and uncountable sin by juxtaposing the foul soul-body of the sinner with the fairness of God's mercy. The first lines use repetition to highlight the sinner's equation of the self with

[404]Martin Luther, "Confitendi ratio" quoted in Steven Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities*: *The Appeal of Protestantism in Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 50.

sin.

> So foule is sinne and lothesome in thy sighte,
> So foule with sinne I see my selfe to be,
> That till from sinne I may be washed white,
> So foule I dare not, Lord, approche to thee. (8.1-4)

In choosing the word *stain* in line eight, the sin appears pervasive and contaminating: "Washe me, O Lord, and so away the staine / Of ugly sinnes" (8.8-9). The sonnet closes with the sinner's plea to God to "washe me every where, / Bothe leprous bodie and defiled face" (8.11-12). The sinner's soul-body is not only dirty and in need of exterior cleansing, but it has also been rendered "foule" by the leprous affects of sin. The speaker's plea of "Lord, cleanse me ones againe," betrays the repetitive nature of this cycle. This cleansing has taken place before, and must take place again. Leprosy, stains, and filth cannot be counted; all of these images further serve to reinforce the all consuming and intangible quality of the speaker's sin. The only time the speaker mentions his or her sins in connection to numbering is in sonnet seven, but even then it is to reinforce the idea that they cannot indeed be numbered.

> My many sinnes in nomber are encreast,
> With weight wherof in sea of depe despeir
> My sinking soule is now so sore opprest. (7.1-3)

The use of these generalized, physical terms in describing the sinner's torment, creates sonnets that feel closed-in and intimate, at times almost claustrophobic in their focus.

The sonnet sequence does not merely examine the sinner's body as a

complete (though dirty and stained) entity, but a blazon is conducted throughout the sequence as the sinner's body parts are attached to the results of sin as well. Eyes or sight are mentioned in twelve sonnets. Crying, wails, or tears are mentioned in ten. Other body parts mentioned include a "foltring knee" (5.5), "wretched mouth" (6.4), "ripped hert" (10.10) and "myne eares" (15.7). The sinner also enlists parts of the body in acts of supplication:

> With foltring knee I fallyng to the ground,
> Bendyng my yelding handes to heavens throne,
> Poure forth my piteous plaint with woefull sound
> With smoking sighes, and oft repeted grone. (5.5-8)

"Broosed bones" (15.12) are also mentioned, and sonnet twenty-two is an extended request to "open thou my lippes to shew my case" (22.7).[405] These references seem as though the speaker is referring to his or her literal and not a metaphorical body. Almost all of the twenty-six sonnets have some mention of the body (or a body part) of the speaker. In the dedicatory epistle Lock also connects the effects of sin to parts of the body when she performs a blazon of sorts on "the good king Ezechias." Lock describes him in physical distress at the realization of his sin, caught up in a spiritual pain that is "vexynge hym in muche more lamentable wise than any bodely fever can worke, or bodyly fleshe can suffer."[406] He "sometyme throwe up his gaslty eyen . . . sometyme struglinglye throwe his weakned legges . . . or holdeth up his white and blodles

[405] For another examination of word repition in Lock's sequence focusing on the word *mercy*, see John Ottenhoff, "Mediating Anne Locke's Meditation Sonnets," in *Other Voices Other Views*, ed. Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox, and Graham Roebuck (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), 290-310.
[406] Lock, "To the Right Honorable," A7^{r}.

hand."[407] In both the epistle and the sonnet sequence, Lock uses this modified form of the Petrarchan conceit to show not the affect that love has on the body, but rather the damaging and all-consuming power that sin has over the soul, and by extension, the sinner's body also.[408]

In addition to the suffering speaker's body, the body of Christ is present in the sonnet sequence as well. Christians throughout history have been encouraged to meditate on the Passion of Christ to gain spiritual benefit. However, during the late medieval period, a fascination with the wounds and blood of Christ was actively promoted by Franciscans.[409] This meditation on the body of Christ seems to have lead to an increase in visions of Christ's flesh and blood appearing as the elements of the Eucharist. The *exemplum* at the beginning of this chapter is one example of the body and blood of Christ merged with the elements of the Eucharist. Miri Rubin argues that visions of the body of Christ grew as reformers attacked transubstantiation.[410] Lock's sonnet sequence draws on this meditative tradition of the Eucharist. While she references Christ's sacrificed body, she then modifies this Eucharistic image, extending it to the suffering penitential speaker.

As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, Psalm 51:16-17 were particularly problematic for the reformed. Lock's translation of verse sixteen, found in the margins beside the corresponding sonnets, reads: "If thou haddest desired sacrifice, I wold have geven [but] thou delytest not in burnt offrings."[411] Protestant tenets held that exterior rituals of religion were unimpressive to a

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[407] ibid, A7^{r-v}.
[408] Rosalind Smith points out this blazoning of Hezekiah's body, and uses it as evidence that Lock was familiar with Petrarchan poetry, see Smith, *Sonnets*, 22.
[409]Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, Cambrid ge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 225.
[410] Rubin, *Corpus*, 117.
[411] Lock, *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner,* Aa7^{v}.

God who focused on the sinner's heart. Yet this is the God who set the Old Testament sacrificial system into place. In his commentary, Calvin claims verse sixteen as a warning to the Jews of David's time who "presumed to bring their sacrifices to the altar as a price by which they hoped to procure their own redemption."[412] Calvin saw the verse not as pointing out a flaw in the sacrificial system, but as indicating that the error was in believing that these actions would gain their redemption. In his treatise "The Babylonian Captivity," Martin Luther uses this verse to attack the Catholic Church, exclaiming, "O Roman See, and . . . your murderous laws and ceremonies, with which you have corrupted all mankind, so that they believe they can with works make satisfaction for sin to God, when he can be satisfied only by the faith of a contrite heart."[413] Once again, the focus is on the interior, the place that only God can see. According to the speaker in Lock's sonnets, the Lord does not require "cattell slayne and burnt"(23.5) or "vaprie smoke to send"(23.6) to heaven or "altars broylde" (23.8). All of these exterior, physical images are rejected in favor of the interior, mental act of praise as seen in the opening lines of the sonnet: "Thy mercies praise, instead of sacrifice, / With thankfull minde so shall I yeld to thee" (23.1-2).

And yet, as much as the sonnets attempt a reformist stance where true spirituality always occurs on the interior plane and is not observed through exterior ritual, the corporeality of repentance appears again in the same sonnet that begins its focus on the unseen mind. In the middle of line nine, just after a caesura, the speaker reinserts the corporeal by examining Christ's body as sacrfice "to pease thy wrath."

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[412] Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, vol. 2.

[413] I recognize that Luther was writing in German, and I am quoting from an English translation, but the word "contrite" is often how אָבָד in Psalm 51:19 is translated. The Great Bible 1540 translates it "a broken and contrite heart" (O God) shalt thou not despise." One cannot help but assume that Luther might have had this Psalm in mind.

To pease thy wrath. But thy swete sonne alone,
With one sufficing sacrifice for all
Appeaseth thee, and maketh the at one
With sinfull man, and hath repaired our fall
That sacred hoste is ever in thine eyes.
The praise of that I yeld for sacrifice. (23.9-14)

In lines 9-12, the speaker refers to Christ's sacrifice as: "one sufficing sacrifice for all." In the last couplet, when the speaker refers to the "sacred hoste [that] is ever in thine eyes," he or she is alluding to a biblical image of Christ as a permanent sacrifice. Revelation 5 speaks of Christ as " the labe [lamb] that was kylled," but firmly ensconced in heaven.[414] In these lines, the speaker is refuting transubstantiation. If the risen Christ is the sacred "hoste," present always before God in heaven, then he could not appear at the mass as well. The speaker focuses on this eternal Eucharist as the source of redemption, as only the penal substitutionary atonement of Christ can suffice for the sinner. By placing the Body of Christ in heaven, and not with the priest on the altar, the speaker is clearly assigning a Protestant message to the corpus of Christ. However, the body of Christ is not completely removed from the scene of repentance. In sonnet twenty-four, the speaker identifies with Christ's bodily sacrifice by referring to his or her own body as a sacrifice.

I yeld my self, I offer up my ghoste,
My slayne delightes, my dyeng hart to thee.
To God a trobled sprite is pleasing hoste. (24.1-3)

The speaker "doth drede like him to be," but at the end of the sonnet decides to

[414] The Great Bible, 1540.

"offer up my trobled sprite" (24.4 & 11). The speaker then is submitting his or her soul and body to God. Lock has clearly outlined the interconnectedness of the soul and the body throughout the sequence; therefore, in this line, the sinner, in using the term "hoste," is aligning him or herself not only with Christ's act of spiritual redemption, but also his bodily suffering.

Fulfilling the traditional title of this psalm as the *Miserere*, the speaker consistently petitions God for forgiveness and mercy throughout the sequence. The sinner asks "Have mercy, God, for thy great mercies sake" from the very first verse sonnet (6.1). In sonnet seven, the second verse sonnet, Lock uses phrasing similar to Thomas Wyatt's in his version of Psalm 51. Lock's sinner begs "rue on my, Lord, releve me with thy grace" (7.9); where Wyatt's David cries,

> Rue on me, Lord, for thy goodness and grace,
> That of thy nature art so bountiful. (427-28)[415]

The sinner continues to ask: "grant thou me mercy" (10.1), "create a new pure hart within my brest" (17.5), and to "wipe all my sinnes away" (16.14). Whatever the speaker's sin, he or she protests that "Lord thee thee alone I have offended" (10.2), not a priest or the Church. By using the imperative construction, with the historical example as reinforcement, the speaker asks God to do what he has done in the past. At the end of sonnet eight, the speaker repeats this construction to create a double emphasis:

> Yea washe me all, for I am all uncleane,

[415] Thomas Wyatt, "A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms," *The Complete Poems*, ed. RA Rebholz (Lonon: Penguin Books, 1997).

And from my sin, Lord cleanse me ones againe. (8.13-14)

With this verbal echo of Wyatt's diction and the pleading tones used to address God, Lock "mimics the [Petrarchan] lover's passionate yearning for an unrequited love and transfers it to the register of wretched penitent and inscrutable deity."[416]

The speaker shows contrition for sins as he or she cries out to God throughout the sequence, but it is in the concluding sonnets, that Lock's new step of incorporation is revealed. This word *incorporation* captures the sequence's focus on the corporeal found in the body of the sinner, the body of Christ, and the body of the Church. As discussed in Chapter One, John Foxe found comparisons between the last verses of this Psalm and his visions of community. So too Lock imagines a correlation between the psalmic Jerusalem and her contemporary society. This final step then focuses on the relationship between the sinner and the community of the Church. This movement opens the sequence up from the previous claustrophobic and enclosed mood, to be corporately focused. The last two sonnets focus on the forgiveness of the sinner and his or her incorporation and welcome back into the Christian community. This step actually has its roots in the previous sonnet, the twenty-fourth sonnet. Lock's translation of the nineteenth verse of Psalm 51 is "The sacrifice to God is a trobled spirit: a broken and an humbled hart, o god, thou wilt not despise." The sonnet then reads,

[416] Nugent, "Anne," 22. Rosalind Smith also argues that Lock read Wyatt. She examines the Petrarchan conceits in Lock's sonnets and the introductory sequence, but as far as I can tell, no one has picked up on this verbal echo, see Smith, *Sonnets*, 22-3. Coles also examines similar points of diction in Wyatt and Lock, see *Religion, Reform*, 133-5.

Such offring likes thee, ne wilt thou despise
The broken humbled hart in angry wise. (24. 13-14)

The sinner has shown contrition for the sin, confessed the sin, trusted in the satisfaction found in the death of Christ. The sinner seems to be lifting his or her head up in hope, and yet the speaker's voice still seems unsure, causing the sinner to ask God: "my trobled sprite refuse not in thy wrathe" (24.12).

In the very next sonnet, the speaker reminds God that mercy should be shown not just for the speaker, but for the sake of the community. The speaker asks

Shew mercie, Lord, not unto me alone,
But stretch thy favor and thy pleased will,
To sprede thy bounte and thy grace upon
Sion, for sion is thy holly hyll. (25. 1-4)

It was quite common among Protestant preachers to use references to Jerusalem and Sion and apply them to the current Protestant movement. Indeed, later in the sonnet the speaker says "defend thy chirch, Lord, and advaunce it soe . . . in despite of tyrannie to stand" (25.9-10). Throughout the sequence the speaker is still invited to see himself or herself as a part of the community. In spite of the sin, the speaker has never been excluded from the community, and indeed, points out that the mercy shown to him or her will spill over to other individuals, members in the larger community.

Contrary to some scholars' accounts, the Protestant Reformation did not create a purely individualistically-focused, inward religion. Diarmaid MacCulloch, referring to the communal aspect of the Protestant church writes,

"Calvinism is a Eucharist-centered and therefore community-minded faith."[417] While they did not hold to transubstantiation, Protestants still placed importance on the taking of the Eucharist as a communal act of remembrance and acceptance. Sarah Beckwith also argues this point: the "abolition of penance as sacrament and incorporation of confession into general confession at morning and evening prayer and Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer services might have placed even more emphasis on the Eucharist as the place of reconciliation."[418] The Genevan community also made its own strides towards the appearance of unity. Because the reformed community had rejected most traditional sacraments and religious rituals, it "was by and large devoid of public participatory rites" that marked the community as just that, a community.[419] The consistories, which began in the 1540's ostensibly provided a way for sinners to confess sins and be restored to the community. "Consistorial discipline and repentance rituals promoted a sense of unity and solidarity" within a theological framework that had already rejected the sacrament of penance which had been the previous marker of confession and forgiveness.[420] When Lock arrived in Geneva, she would have seen the consistories in action, which may have influenced her inclusion of the step of incorporation into the cycle of repentance.

A thread of concern for the community runs throughout the sequence. The speaker asks to be saved for his or her own sake, but also so that he or she can contribute to the building and growth of the church.

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[417] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 606.
[418] Sarah Beckwith, "Shakespeare's Resurrections," in *Shakespeare & The Middle Ages*. ed. Curtis Perry & John Watkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 54.
[419] Mentzer, "Notions of Sin and Penitence," *Penitence in the Age*, 85.
[420] ibid, 85.

But mercy Lord, O Lord some pitie take,
Withdraw my soule from the deserved hell.
O Lord of glory, for thy glories sake:
That I saved of thy mercy tell,
And shew how thou, which mercy hast behight
To sighing sinners, that have broke thy laws
Performest mercy. (11.1-7)

Through active verbs, like "tell" and "shew," the speaker bargains with God, to show just how active he or she will be to "preach the justice of thy law" (20.3).

After receiving forgiveness the speaker will become exemplary for the church, because his or her actions will preach directly to the community.

So shall my pardon by thy mercy teache
The way to finde swete mercy in thy sight.
Have mercy, Lorde, in me example make
Of lawe and mercy, for thy mercies sake. (20.11-14)

By repeating “mercy” or “mercies” seven times in this one sonnet, the speaker puts the weight of words onto the theme of forgiveness. The sinner predicts being received back into the community, which will instigate communal worship. Previously in the sequence, the speaker prefaced this imagined moment of forgiveness by explaining the type of sacrifice that pleases “trobled sprite . . . such offring likes thee, ne wilt thou despise” (24.12-13). In the final sonnet, the speaker is joined by the members of the community, indicating the communal aspects necessary for forgiveness. This sonnet contains the only uses of a plural pronoun in the sequence.

Thou shalt behold upon thine altar lye
Many a yelden host of humbled hart,

> And round abot then shall thy people crye:
> We praise thee, God our God. (26.5-8)

In this sense, being a part of the communal body of the reformed church offers the way out of the circling movements charted in the earlier poems of the sequence. The reformed community, as they yield up their "host of humbled hart," are imagined through the lens of a corporate body. And yet, though the speaker ends with a focus on the communal benefits of God's forgiveness, this is still something imagined within the sinner's dialogue. It is not an actual event, and the reader is left with just one side of a conversation—God has yet to respond.

Anne Lock's sonnet sequence, *Meditation of a Pentient Sinner* provides her readers with a reformed "stool of repentance," a chance to identify with the speaker through the act of reading as the reader blends with the "I" of the speaker. With this exploration of confession and forgiveness, Lock's path of repentance draws from the traditional sacramental process found in the medieval manuals, while adding a final step of incorporation. Though freed from the arduous steps of the traditional sacrament, Lock's sinner in *Meditation* continues to be exposed to God's wrath and judgment without ever receiving assurance of pardon. The volume's dedicatory epistle weaves together the conscience with the corporeal self so tightly that they are almost indistinguishable, leaving the entire self-condemned by God's wrath. And the speaker (and perhaps the reader) is left to wonder, how will God respond?

CHAPTER IV

DISPLAYING THE BODY PENITENT IN THE SIDNEY PSALTER

The British Museum houses an intricate engraving created by Simon van de Passe in 1618 (see fig 4.1).[421] The woman pictured in the cartouche is middle-aged, with evident lines about her eyes. In spite of (or perhaps *because* of) her age, she displays a confident air as she gazes directly out at the viewer. Her sumptuous embroidered dress, ermine flecked overcoat, and stiff yet intricate lace collar evidence wealth and style, as do her many strings of pearls. The lace around the collars and the cuff are made up of small sections featuring swans and an unidentified emblem, which may be a lyre.[422] Two giant quills in inkwells appear to frame the image.[423] Within a ring of Latin, the sitter raises one hand to the edge of the cartouche, proudly displaying a book, which she holds in long, artistic fingers. Along the top edge of the book, the title can be seen: "Davids Psalmes." Beneath the portrait is an inscription identifying the woman as "The right honorable and most vertuous Lady Mary Sidney, wife to the late deceased Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke." The sitter's marital status is written in a smaller hand than the name written in all capitals: "MARY SIDNEY." The sitter clearly wishes to be identified first as a Sidney and only secondarily as wife to the late Earl of Pembroke.[424]

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[421] Simon van de Pass, Engraving of Mary Sidney Herbert, 1618, The British Museum.

[422] For further discussion on the lace cuffs see Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney 1586-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 78 fn6. Alexander makes a compelling argument for the placement of the swan as a direct reference to Philip Sidney on p. 78-81.

[423] It is unclear precisely what these items are, but this seems a good guess. See Margaret P. Hannay, "'Bearing the livery of your name:' The Countess of Pembroke's Agency in Print and Scribal Publications," *Sidney Journal* 18 (Summer 2000), 13 fn. 22.

[424] See Alexander, *Writing After*, 76, for a discussion of Mary's social rank.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 4.1 Simon van de Pass, Portrait of Mary Sidney Herbert, 1618, The British Museum

Mary Sidney Herbert could have held other books in this portrait, but instead she has chosen the text she co-authored with her brother Philip Sidney, the revered and honored poet, eulogized by many of England's literary greats in the 1580s and 90s.[425] She had translated at least two French works, including Robert Garnier's *Marc Antoine*. Her translation, *Antonius,* was widely read and some of the phrasing was used by William Shakespeare in his *Antony and Cleopatra.*[426] She was also highly influential as a literary patroness and editor; Philip famously dedicated his *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* to her.[427] Yet de Passe's engraving presents Mary's authorial identity as rooted in the Sidney Psalter. Mary and her brother Philip's paraphrastic versions of "Davids Psalmes" circulated among a large contemporary readership, but was not printed until 1823.[428] One copy of The Sidney Psalter, the Tixall manuscript, was even intended for presentation to Queen Elizabeth I in 1599, though it is unlikely that she ever saw the volume.[429] Within this manuscript, Mary identifies herself

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[425] Alexander, *Writing After*, 56-8.
[426] Margaret P. Hannay, "Herbert [Sidney], Mary, countess of Pembroke (1561–1621)," *DNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13040, accessed 3 Jan 2012].
[427] Mary clearly influenced more then just the dedication of this work, as the editors Trill, Chedgzoy, and Osborne have shown in their collection: "The *Arcadia* was not simply written *for* the Countess of Pembroke, it was also edited, revised and published *by* her." Suzanne Trill, Kate Chedgzoy, and Melanie Osborne, introduction to *Lay By Your Needles Ladies, Take the Pen: Writing Women in England, 1500-1700* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 1.
[428] Mary Sidney, *The Psalms of David* (London: Chiswick Press, 1823). For a short discussion on the Sidney Psalter's manuscript circulation and Mary's role in that, see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 53-6.
[429] For information on the Royal visit, see Michael G. Brennan, "The Queen's Proposed Visit to Wilton House in 1599 and the 'Sidney Psalms'," *Sidney Journal* 20 (2002), 27-53. Since both Philip Sidney's and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke's works constitute the Sidney Psalms, I will refer to the work as a whole under the label of the *The Sidney Psalter*. This is for two reasons, the most recent scholarly edition and first complete volume since the early twentieth century, has chosen this title, see *The Sidney Psalter: The Psalms of Sir Philip and Mary Sidney*, ed. Hannibal Hamlin, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). As I am using this volume for line quotations, this simplifies any

as "the Sister of that Incomporable Sidney."[430] Suzanne Trill has aptly argued that this "strategic deployment of her literary and famililial connections . . . signals a desire to be recognized as her brothers true literary heir" and equal.[431] This is not an isolated moment. Throughout her life, Mary incorporated the Sidney crest and pheons (or arrowheads) into her own signatures. She even used symbols from the Sidney crest around her estate at Houghton House.[432]

From its display of wealth to the associations with her saintly brother-poet to the inscription, Mary Sidney Herbert is presented in this engraving as "honorable" and "vertuous" as she appears to instruct the viewer from a copy of her paraphrastic version of the scripture.[433] In spite of this projected virtuosity and respectability of the sitter, an examination of the engraving reveals a darker theme. In the center just above Mary's head is what appears to be the Sidney family pheon (see fig. 4.2). This arrowhead is featured prominently in a diamond inset at the top center of the engraving. A tiara crowns the top corner of the

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confusion that may occur. Second, even after marriage, Mary crafted her literary persona in relation to her brother, retaining elements of the Sidney emblems in her property and signatures. See Margaret Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), xi and 193. Certainly she could have invoked this familial identification for a variety of reasons, but it seems appropriate to retain her chosen persona. As the editors of *The Collected Works* have aptly argued, her self-identification as a Sidney is not Mary's attempt to downplay her role as an author, but is a "statement of love" for her brother and perhaps more powerfully an act of "self-assertion" (1:11).

[430] *Collected Works*, 1:112. For a detailed discussion of the provenance and description of the Tixall Manuscript which is a clean copy of the manuscript designed for presentation to Elizabeth I and likely overseen by Mary, see *The Psalmes of David* vol. 2 in *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, eds. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 314-16.

[431] Trill, "'In Poesie the mirrois of our Age': The Countess of Pembroke's 'Sydnean' Poetics," 432.

[432] Mary Sidney Herbert, *Poems, Translations, and Correspondence* vol. 1 in *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, eds. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 112.

[433] The engraving was even intended to be sold on its own, perhaps to inspire and elighten those who bought it. Alexander, *Writing After*, 78.

diamond, encircled by a laurel wreath. When examined closer, we can see that this pheon is composed of a spike splitting through an inverted triangle. The two halves open as the projectile rips through the center, leaving jagged and broken pieces in its wake. The pheon no longer appears a mere symbol of the Sidney family, but a sinister projectile poised to tear through its casings.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 4.2 Detail of pheon in de Passe engraving

Similarily, Philip acted as a living symbol of the respectability of the Sidney family until his death of infection from a war wound. Much like the broken and wounded pheon, the echoes of Philip's death can be seen throughout Mary's textual and visual self-fashioning. Fulke Greville, a contemporary of Philip's, recounts his version of the scene on the Netherlandish battlefield:

> An unfortunate hand out of those fore spoken Trenches, brake the bone of Sir *Philip*'s thigh with a Musket-shot. . . . after the sixteenth day was past, and the very shoulder-bones of this delicate Patient worn through his

> skin . . . he judiciously observing the pangs his wound stang him with by fits, together, with many other symptoms of decay, few or none of recovery . . . he one morning lifting up the clothes for change & ease of his body, smelt some extraordinary noisom savor about him, differing from oyls and salvs . . . it was inward mortification, and a welcome messenger of death.[434]

Within the context of Philip's death, the pheon becomes a destructive projectile, similar to the "musket-shot." The entire portrait becomes susceptible to a more ambiguous interpretation. This violent presence, ripping through a previously intact shape, hangs above Mary's head, placing the message of the engraving's composition in question. Mary's monumental respectability is set in the balane against this damoclean pheon that becomes a marker of violence, brokeneness, and wounding.

This chapter will examine the Sidney Psalter in a similar manner. On its surface, the Sidney Psalter appears a spiritually edifying monument to the dead poet-brother and Mary's noble Sidney family. However, Mary's two prefatory poems place the Psalter under the shadow of death and destruction. For Mary, the Psalter is a monument raised in the praise of a dead war-hero. Even on its own terms, this may seem contradictory, a bizarre superimposition of the honoured brother's body onto that of the suffering penitent. Once the structure is examined and its interior opened, however, these themes of mourning and genealogical respectability become further disjointed. Representations of the broken and partitioned penitential body within these poems question the very definition of what it means to be human. In the death, decay, and dismemberment of the penitent speaker's body, the defining qualities of self-identification begin to collapse. As the speaker performs acts of autoblazoning,

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[434] Fulke Greville, *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (London, 1652), $L2^{V}$-$L3^{r}$.

traditional delineations are perforated and the speaker begins to slip in and out of human and animal roles undercutting the traditional narratives found in these seven psalms.[435]

The Creation of the Sidney Psalter

At the start of the 1580s, the young poet, writer, and courtier Sir Philip Sidney was experimenting with several compositional styles, including work on the first version of his long pastoral prose narrative *The Arcadia.*[436] It is likely that soon afterwords, Philip began his lyrical paraphrases of the entire Book of Psalms, although their precise date is uncertain. Scholars in the earlier half of the twentieth century attempted to date the psalms by examining Philip's literary style, arguing that he began his psalms early, abandoning them in favor of other artistic projects.[437] More recent scholarship, however, points to Mary's dedicatory poem found in the Tixall manuscript, where internal evidence seems to indicate that Philip was working on the Psalter up until the end of his life. Line eighteen in "To the Angel Spirit," labels the Sidney Psalter as "this half-maimed piece" implying that Philip's work on the psalms was halted only by his

[435] In this chapter I will utilize Jonathan Sawday's poetics of disection to apply this idea of "autoblazoning," from *The Body Emblazoned*

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[436] In October 1580, Philip wrote to his brother Robert about his "toyfull booke," which many scholars believe refers to his first complete version of *The Arcadia*. Philip to Robert, October 18, 1580, in *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 132. In addition, the Philips MS of *The Arcadia* is labeled as "'made in the year 1580'." See Katherine Duncan-Jones, introduction to *The Old Arcadia*, new ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), vii. Revisions for the second version of the *Arcadia* began around 1583, Alexander, *Writing After*, xx.

[437] *The Psalms of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke*, ed. J.C.A. Rathmell (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963), xxv-vi.

death from complications of a battle wound in 1586.[438] Philip was only able to finish paraphrastic versions of Psalms 1-43, after which his sister Mary completed the Psalter with her own poetic versions of the remaining psalms, while editing Philip's psalms. The result of Mary's work was a manuscript of the entire book of Psalms, which was being read by the Sidneys' literary circle as early as 1594.[439]

Even though Philip died at a relatively young age, just thirty-one, he had already produced *Astrophel and Stella,* two versions of *Arcadia*, and a work of literary theory. Regardless of their precise compositional date, Philip's beginning work on the Psalter must have been intertwined with his writings on artistic production. Perhaps the Psalter was even intended to provide a practical application of his arguments in his treatise, *An Apology for Poetry*.[440] Philip utilizes various arguments in his defense of poetry and fiction, but he begins by focusing particularly on historical tradition. "David's Psalms," Philip writes, are "a divine poem," "songs" that are "poetical" even though "hebricians" may not

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[438] Michael G. Brennan and Katherine Duncan-Jones have argued that he was probably writing his versions of the Psalms in 1585 and 1586, right up to his death in the Netherlands. Brennan examines lines 15-21 in "To the Angell Spirit" particularly in connection to this dating theory. Michael G. Brennan, "'First rais'de by thy blest hand, and what is mine / inspird by thee': The 'Sidney Psalter' and the Countess of Pembroke's completion of the Sidneian *Psalms*," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 45 (Summer 1996): 37 and Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), 277-8. Quotations from Mary's dedicatory poems and the Sidney Psalter are taken from *The Sidney Psalter: The Psalms of Sir Philip and Mary Sidney* (2009). However, I have consulted *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert* as well as *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler, Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).
[439] Michael G. Brennan has made a convincing case for the 1594 date, which supplanted the previously held, though more ambiguous date of 1598-1600, see "The Date of the Countess of Pembroke's Translation of the Psalms," *Review of English Studies* 33 (1982), 434-6.
[440] *The Sidney Psalter* (2009), xiv.

understand the poetic methods used in them.[441] Further, since "poesy therefore is an art of imitation," the poetry that "imitate[s] the inconceivable excellencies of God . . . [such as] David in his Psalms" is, in fact, the highest form of poetry.[442] After listing other Biblical "poets" Philip includes a proviso: "Against these [authors] none will speak that hath the Holy Ghost in due holy reverence."[443] By placing both imitation of God's poetic work and the psalms above all other poetry, Philip subtly positions his own paraphrastic versions of the psalms as a paragon of literary respectability.[444] The Sidney Psalter then becomes "a practical argument for the literary value of the psalms, and an argument for the poetic potential of the English language."[445]

The Sidney Psalter is both innovative and quite unlike other contemporary English psalm paraphrases: perhaps "the greatest achievement in literary psalm translation" during the English Renaissance. [446] The Psalter holds 172 poems (if the twenty-two sections of Psalm 119 are each counted). Within those separate poems there is only one repetition of poetic form (in stanza and metre).[447] It is literally a "compendium of Elizabethan verse forms."[448] The majority of the paraphrases were written by Mary, revealing her skill at poetic form and composition which "contributed 'incalculably' to early modern"

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[441] Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry or The Defense of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd revised R.W. Maslen, 3rd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 85.
[442] Sidney, *Apology*, 86.
[443] ibid.
[444] For an excellent exploration on *imitatio* within the early modern psalmic literary tradition see Zim, "An introduction: *imitatio* and the Psalms in Sixteenth-Century England," *English Metrical*, 1-42.
[445] Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 120.
[446] ibid, 118.
[447] Hamlin, Brennan, Hannay, and Kinnamon, "Introduction," *The Sidney Psalter*, xxiii.
[448] *Collected Works*, 1:57-8.

poetry.[449]

Equally impressive is its purpose, which seems to have been to function as an artistic endevour. Literary versions and refashionings of the psalms can be divided into two general categories. First, poets including Thomas Wyatt or Anne Lock wrote artistically challenging versions of the psalms; yet these are only of certain psalms or a select grouping. Second, Psalters of entire translations or paraphrases were completed, but these were created and intended for ecclesiastical or small group devotional use only. The well known Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter is a prime example of this second category. The Sidney Psalter falls into neither, but stands alone. It bridges the both categories as an artistic paraphrase of the entire Book of Psalms, but one that was not intended for the purpose of group devotional singing and recital.[450]

The production of the Sidney Psalter is indicative of the familial and cultural connections that Philip and Mary had with the psalms, and it is conceivable that this is one of the reasons that Philip began his lyrical translation. The Sidney family history is quite literally inscribed on the pages of the Book of Psalms. The births of both Philip and Mary are recorded in an ornate fourteenth-century Psalter, now held at Trinity College Library, Cambridge.[451] In

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[449] Trill, "'In Poesie the mirrois of our Age': The Countess of Pembroke's 'Sydnean' Poetics," 441.

[450] Earlier scholarship on the *Sidney Psalter* assumed that Philip intended his work to be a part of family devotions. See for example, Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 277. Two of the Sidney Psalms, 51 and 130, both Penitential Psalms, were set to music and likely intended for private devotional settings. They can be found in BL Additional MS 15117. But, as Beth Quitslund has shown, it would be metrically impossible for the entire *Sidney Psalter* to have been set to contemporary musical accompaniment for the purpose of choral singing, see "'Teaching Us How to Sing?'; The Peculiarity of the Sidney Psalter," *The Sidney Journal* 23 (2005): 83-110.

[451] Trinity College Library, Cambridge, R.17.2. See Montague Rhodes James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), 410-11. Michael G. Brennan also discusses this Psalter in "First rais'de."

his article on this family Psalter, Michael G. Brennan has argued that Philip may have been referring to this manuscript in *Astrophil and Stella* sonnet 11.[452] The sonnet compares young love to a wide-eyed child discovering a treasure:

> For like a child that some faire booke doth find,
> With guilded leaves or coloured Velume playes,
> Or at the most on some fine picture stayes,
> But never heeds the fruit of writer's mind. (ln. 5-8)[453]

Even if this passage does not refer to the family Psalter, it is still probable that Philip encountered this manuscript. Perhaps as a child, he saw recorded in this volume his own birth and connections to royalty where his godfather, Philip II of Spain is listed as well. The presence of these genealogical records in this manuscript intertwines the psalms with the generations of the Sidney family, including Philip's own life, mixing the Scripture inexorably with the intimate markers of birth and death.[454]

Mary also would have had exposure to the psalms when she was young. According to a family inventory, the Protestant humanist education she received included studying at least "two books of Martirs."[455] While John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* is not listed specifically among the family books and manuscripts, it was already in a second edition, and is likely one of the books of martyrs named in connection with her education. [456] *Actes and Monuments* is another place Mary

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[452] Brennan, "'First rais'de'," 40.
[453] "Astrophil and Stella," *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, 170.
[454] Brennan goes on to argue that the birth of Sidney's first daughter, Elizabeth, further emphasised the dynastic connections between the Psalms and the Sidney family, and Brennan argues that this event spurred Sidney to start his own version of the Psalms: "'First rais'de,'"38-39.
[455] Quote from de L'Isle MS in Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan, eds. "Introduction," *Collected Works*, 1: 3.
[456] "Introduction," *Collected Works*, 1: 3.

would have been exposed to a further family connection to the psalms. Perhaps she read Foxe's account of her grandfather John Dudley and the doomed Lady Jane: just before Jane Grey was executed, Foxe reports that she "sayd . . . the psalme of miserere mei deus in Englysh," the central Penitential Psalm.[457] A further connection between the family and the Psalms can be found in William Hunnis' text. Hunnis, master of the children of the Chapel Royal, composed *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule*, a musical paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms for the Protestant Elizabethan court. Hunnis dedicated this volume to Sidney and Pembroke's aunt, Frances Radcliffe (née Sidney). It was reprinted in at least eleven editions, well into the seventeenth century, while still retaining Hunnis' dedication connecting the volume to the Sidneys.[458] Additionally, one of the books Mary referenced while writing her versions of the psalms connected her family to the biblical text. In 1580, Anthony Gilby published his English translation of Theodore de Bèze's commentaries on the psalms dedicating the volume to Pembroke's aunt, Catherine Hastings (née Dudley).[459] Mary utilized several sources, but she relied heavily on Bèze's commentary, whose influence can be seen throughout the Psalter.[460] The Psalms, with familial connections to specific passages and literal genealogical records in one volume's pages, were central to Sidney familial identity. Philip and Mary's paraphrastic Psalter continues the connection. The Psalms are quite literally a source of generational and authorial identity.

[457] Foxe, *A&M* (1563), NNNiv[r].
[458] For a verse by verse comparison of several paraphrastic versions of Psalm 51, including Mary's and Hunnis' versions see Hamlin, "Psalm 51: sin, sacrifce, and the "Sobbes of a Sorrowfull Soule," in *Psalm Culture*, 173-217.
[459] Theodore de Bèze, *The Psalmes of David, truely opened and explaned by Paraphrasis,* trans. Anthonie Gilby (London, 1580).
[460] For a thorough discussion of Mary's sources see *Collected Works*, 2: 11-17.

The Sidney Psalter, a work that can be seen as the culmination of sixteenth-century literary psalmic culture, has naturally engendered much analysis. Certainly, this scholarship has not been monolithic. Rikvah Zim does not view the Sidney Psalter as a *tour de force*. In her book, *English Metrical Psalms*, Zim writes, "The Countess was not an innovator . . . The Countess's own versions do not represent any further significant development in the English metrical psalm as a literary kind."[461] Perhaps Zim's argument would hold more weight had Mary written just one paraphrastic psalm, but she wrote many more. Just one poem, Mary's "Psalm 55," has been labeled "one of the most technically demanding verse forms ever attempted."[462] Debra K. Rienstra and Noel J. Kinnamon also disagree with Zim's assertion; instead they examine the Sidney Psalter's poetic style and conclude that "the Sidneys present a metrical showcase, sparkling with rhetorical flourishes and stuffed with extensive study of translations and commentaries."[463] In recent decades, contributions have been made to scholarship on the Sidney Psalter investigating formalist themes and genre questions, authorship and gender criticism, contemporary readership, and its lasting influence on later authors, just to cite a few examples.[464] And yet, no

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[461] Zim, *English Metrical*, 186-7.
[462] Alexander, *Writing After*, 114.
[463] Debra K. Rienstra and Noel J. Kinnamon, "Revisioning the Sacred Text," *Sidney Journal* 17 (Spring 1999), 61.
[464] See Roland Greene, "Sir Philip Sidney's Psalms, the Sixteenth-Century Psalter, and the Nature of Lyric," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 30 (Winter, 1990): 19-40, for an examination of the Sidney Psalter's literary structure within the genre of the religious lyric. For a foundational discussion of the authorial differences between Philip and Mary's paraphrastic styles see chapter 5 in Zim, "'A Heavenly Poesie . . . Of that Lyricall Kind'," *English Metrical*, 152-202. Much has been written both on gender questions within the Sidney Psalms and examining Mary as a female author. For a penetrating introduction to Mary's unique and skilled artistic paraphrases, see Suzanne Trill, "Sixteenth-Century Women's Writing: Mary Sidney's Psalmes and the 'Femininity of Translation," *Writing and the English Renaissance.* ed. Suzanne Trill and William Zunder. (London: Longman, 1996) 140-58. Well known Sidney scholar Margaret Hannay's article argues for a contemporary devotional reading practice,

scholar has turned his or her attention to the Sidney Psalter's Penitential Psalms as such.

As I have shown in the previous chapters, these seven psalms were sung and recited throughout the Catholic ecclesiastical year, but particularly during the Lenten Season and at moments of death. In spite of the frequently volatile religious culture of England, the Penitential Psalms were continuously adopted by Catholics and Protestants alike to be used in various settings, in both ecclesiastical and lay expressions of piety. The Penitential Psalms were present in the court, in the home, and even on the gallows. By the time Philip Sidney began his work on the Psalter, the literary tradition linking Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143 together as expressions of the sorrowful sinner had not only devotional significance, but also the substantial weight of cultural experiences that read them through the lens of penance and later repentance. In addition to contemporary devotional practice and their familial connections, Philip and Mary would have been well aware of the traditions connected to individual psalms, particularly the Penitential Psalms. In his *Apology*, Philip exhibits an awareness of this devotional practice when he enlists a traditional biblical narrative to prove the power of fiction. Philip labels Psalm 51 "a heavenly psalm of mercy," writing that it was instigated by Nathan's confrontation of David for his sexual encounter with Bathsheba and subsequent murder of Uriah.[465] So Philip was aware of the biblical literary tradition linking this Penitential Psalm with moments of sin, sorrow, forgiveness, and illicit sexual behavior.

Margaret P. Hannay, "Re-revealing the Psalms: The Countess of Pembroke and Her Early Modern Readers," *Sidney Journal*, 23 (2005), 19-36. Hannibal Hamlin's chapter on the Sidney Psalter examines three of the Sidney psalms, placing them in context and examining the lasting effects of the work as a whole. See Hamlin, "The Psalms and English poetry II: 'The highest matter in the noblest forme': psalms and the development of English verse," *Psalm Culture*, 111-46.

[465] Sidney, *Apology*, 96.

Furthermore, Mary was familiar with other contemporary writers' paraphrastic versions of the Penitential Psalms. One of the many sources she used to write her versions of the psalms was Anne Vaughan Lock's sonnet sequence.[466] The start of Mary's line forty in Psalm 51, "O God, God of my health," is a direct quotation from the beginning line of Lock's sonnet 16: "O God, God of my health, my saving God."[467] Examining the Sidney versions of the Penitential Psalms in conjunction with each other as a grouping within the Psalter is neither haphazard nor anachronistic; rather, it recognises the cultural expectations and literary traditions that the contemporary reader, and indeed Philip and Mary, would have brought to the Sidney Psalter.

Studying the Sidney Penitential Psalms is the next natural step in the progression of this thesis. Unlike texts in the previous chapters of this thesis where authors selected out all or parts of the Penitential Psalms for the reader, these psalms within the Sidney Psalter exist as parts within a larger collection of poetry. While the Book of Psalms was often read as a whole, it was understood to be composed of discrete sequences that could be read for spiritual edification or used at particular moments in one's spiritual development, for example at times of persecution or repentance. Contemporary prayer books and psalters would commonly outline this structured practice of selected reading with glosses and charts grouping together different psalms.

Athanasius, a fourth century archbishop, outlined certain pastoral benefits that could be reaped by praying and meditating on specific psalms. Amongst his discussion of other psalms, he also focuses on the Penitential Psalms. Athanasius' chart on psalm reading, included in the Sternhold and

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[466] See the editorial notes on Psalm 51, *The Sidney Psalter* (2009), 300, which first brought this quotation to my attention.
[467] Lock, "Meditation," *Sermons*, 16.1.

Hopkins psalter and other sixteenth-century psalters, is one example of this type of situational reading applied to the Book of Psalms. Bèze's commentary on the psalms also highlights several of these sequences nested within the Book of Psalms (see fig. 4.3). The chart titled "The Psalmes digested into a brief table and brought to certain principal heades, according to the direction of M. Beza," lists psalms in various categories as a guide to help the reader's selections.[468] There are psalms for "victories or triumphes," and several psalms are set apart as thanksgiving psalms. The chart in Bèze's commentary utilizes two interesting terms that carry dual meanings. The psalms have been "digested" and "brought to certain principal heades." *Digested* here is used to mean summarized or reduced into important sections, and yet the word would have carried a double meaning in the sixteenth century just as it does now. It also refers to the anatomical process of mastication and breakdown that food goes through as it proceeds through the body. By marking out psalms in "bite-sized pieces," Bèze has begun the digestive process for his reader. In choosing the word *head*, Bèze again uses a word with a dual anatomical meaning, creating a chart that returns the reader to the corpus of the psalms. This corporeal language will be still further concretized in the Sidney Psalter, as we shall see. Bèze's text, along with its chart, is just one of the sources used in the creation of the Sidney Psalter. Philip and Mary presented their refashioned Psalter as a whole. However, cultural expectations and literary traditions leading up to and during the 1580's and 90's would have made both the authors and their readers sensitive to the grouping of the seven Penitential Psalms within the Psalter.

[468] de Bèze, *The Psalmes of David* (1580), viii^{r}.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 4.3 Theodore de Bèze, *The Psalmes of David*, (1580) viii^{r}.

The Sidneys' Penitential Psalms at first appear a selection of typically contrite devotional literature. Mary's two prefatory poems "Even now that care" and "To the Angel Spirit," frame the Sidney Psalter as a normative devotional text of lyrical paraphrases, particularly in their dialogue with Queen Elizabeth and Mary's revered, though dead, brother Philip. Yet, much like the de Passe engraving discussed above, these dedicatory poems reveal something more beneath the fine garb of the Psalter. Death, decay, and dismemberment afflict the corpus of the Penitential Psalms. The speaker follows the traditional narrative of sin, confession, and repentance; however, when examined as a group and within their larger context, with the two dedicatory poems at the head of the grouping, these psalms' normative aspect begins to unravel.

The Body of the Sidney Psalter: Dedication and Respectability

As Gérard Genette has explained, paratexts "surround [the text] and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it."[469] The first of Mary's prefatory poems to the Psalter does just that. As Patricia Pender has argued, "The *Psalmes* are a tribute—in both senses of that word."[470] So, "Even now that Care" dedicates the Psalter to Elizabeth I. And yet the second poem, "To the Angel Spirit" undermines the previous poem with its first line. It declares that to Philip, "to thee alone," is the Psalter "addressed." Ultimately, Mary has set up the Psalter as monument to her now dead, war-hero brother, so that the poems might be "Immortal monuments of thy fair fame."[471] For Mary, Philip remains a hero;

[469] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.
[470] Patricia Pender, *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 98.
[471] "To the Angel Spirit," line 71.

however, when we examine the Penitential Psalms, what we find is an incoherence that reveals not the body of a hero, but the dying body of a penitent, found both within the Psalter, and in the framework of these two poems. This second dedicatory poem thus places the entire text under the spectre of destruction, with both prefatory poems obliquely struggling under the weight of a dead and bleeding body. While "Even now" attempts to function as a dedicatory poem, its elegiac characteristics are still extant, threatening to overtake its purpose to catch the eye of the Queen. This ever-present shadow of the body of the lost brother lurking in the background is perhaps fitting, as within these two dedicatory poems the Sidney Psalter is imagined as various types of bodies, both living and dead.

The Tixall manuscript was likely made for Queen Elizabeth II's unrealized visit to Wilton in 1599.[472] As discussed in Chapter Two, Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII had positioned himself and his family in connection to David and his royal line.[473] Mary continues this comparison in "Even now that care," by using a common topos, situating the current reigning monarch in proximity to the psalm-writing King David. Other texts during Elizabeth's reign compared her to biblical rulers; for example, *The Boke of Psalms* printed in Geneva (1559), was similarly dedicated to the Queen. The preface explains that in the Book of Psalms, David's life experiences are writ large, a perfect selection for the royal reader.

[472] For the literary precedent of presenting gifts of vernacular scripture and literary paraphrases of the scripture to Elizabeth see "'Even now that Care': Literary Context" *Collected Works*, 1: 94-99.
[473] For an examination of the comparison made between Henry VIII and David present in Henry's Book of Hours, see Pamela Tudor-Craig, "Henry VIII and King David."

> In our judgement yet no part of ye whole Scriptures is more necessarie for your grace then this litle boke of Psalmes, if it be wel weighed & practised. For here shal you se painted as in a moste lyvely table, in the persone of Kind David, suche things as have felt and shal continually fele in your self.[474]

The epistle makes an extended comparison between Elizabeth and David, urging the Queen to find spiritual instruction in his divinely inspired words. Most of this dedicatory epistle, including this comparison, was later incorporated into the Geneva Bible (1560), which Mary used as one of her main resources for her versions of the psalms.

Scholars are often interested in "Even now that care" for its political implications, and indeed Mary may have chosen this monarchical comparison in an effort to remind Elizabeth of the Protestant triumph and hopefulness which was present at the start of her reign.[475] Margaret Hannay argues that in "Even now" Mary establishes a Protestant hagiography around her dead brother that she can then use to instruct and re-enlist Elizabeth to fight for the Protestant cause in the later years of her reign.[476] Gavin Alexander questions this view of a

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[474] *The Boke of Psalmes* (Geneva 1559), *iii^{v}.
[475] In addition to Alexander see Margaret P. Hannay, "The Countess of Pembroke's Agency in Print and Scribal Culture," *Women's Writing and the Circulation of Ideas: Manuscript Publication: Manuscript Publication in England, 1550-1800*, ed. George L. Justice and Nathan Tinker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17-49; Mary Ellen Lamb, *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990) 115-18; Patricia Pender, "Mea Mediocritas: Mary Sidney, Modesty, and the History of the Book," *Early Modern Women's Writing*, 92-121; and Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 313-7.
[476] Margaret P. Hannay, "'Doo What Men May Sing' Mary Sidney and the Tradition of Admonitory Dedication.'" *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*. ed. Margaret P. Hannay (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985), 165.

militantly Protestant Mary bent on correcting her monarch, pointing to hesitancy and reticence in the poem. He argues that it is not successfully admonitory because her charges are "couched in . . . fretful qualifications . . . [deflecting] emphasis," creating a poem that is only tentatively political and rhetorically unsuccessful.[477] The geo-political allusions in the poem are certainly worth scholarly inquiry, but in this chapter I will examine the way in which Mary figures the body of the Psalter itself.

As I will outline below, Mary slips along a chain of metonymic associations from pieces of clothing to the body they dress as she discusses the Psalter.[478] First she refers to the Psalter using metaphors of fine apparel, emphasizing her and her brother's collaborative work, as she imagines the text as a gift presented to the Queen.[479] Yet this metaphor is limited, so she recreates the Psalter in a royal body for the reader to observe. Even as the Psalter, presented in the royal personage of King David, discourses with Elizabeth, another body lurks in the background. The Psalter, imagined first as royal finery and then as a royal body, is overshadowed by the spectre of Philip's broken, bleeding war-wounded corpse that threatens to slip closer to the foreground of the poem.

Mary first uses the metaphor of cloth when referring to the Psalter in "Even now that care." She invokes Philip in the creation of this material (both as textile and text) when she writes

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[477] Alexander, *Writing*, 108.
[478] For a discussion on clothing and the gender politics present in cloth-making during the early moder period, see Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[479] See Hannay, "'Bearing the livery of your name:' The Countess of Pembroke's Agency in Print and Scribal Publications," for an investigation of this collobration. For a discussion on giving the written word as gifts, see Donawerth, "Women's Poetry and the Tudor-Stuart System of Gift Exchange."

> But he did warp, I weaved this web to end;
> The stuff not ours, our work no curious thing
> Wherein yet well we thought the Psalmist King,
> Now English denizened, though Hebrew born
> Would to thy music undispleasèd sing. (ln. 27-31)

In comparing the Psalter to cloth, Mary shores up both the reputation of the text and her own artistic skills. These lines echo Philip's argument in the *Apology* that poets, with god-like skill, actually improve upon the natural world in their work. Philip points out that "Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done."[480] With these references to the weaving of a cloth, Mary secures her contribution as an equal poet. While Philip may have begun the work, Mary very clearly sees herself as a co-creator of the textile Psalter.[481] The following three lines prepare the reader for the later comparison of the Psalter to the royal body. In this section, the close proximity of the singing "Psalmist King" to the "warp" and "web" conjures up images of David woven into a tapestry, hung on display for the Queen's viewing pleasure.[482]

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[480] *Apology*, 85.

[481] For a cogent discussion of Mary's view of herself as equal co-author with her brother instead of merely editor, see Natasha Distiller, 'Philip's Phoenix'?: Mary Sidney Herbert and the Identity of Author," *The Anatomy of Tudor Literature: Proceedings of the First International Conference of the Tudor Symposium* ed. Mike Pincombe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 112-29; as well as Patricia Demers, "'Warpe' and 'Webb' in the Sidney Psalms: The 'Coupled Worke' of the Countess of Pembroke and Sir Philip Sidney," in *Literary Couplings: Writing Couples, Collaborators, and the Construction of Authorship*, eds. Majorie Stone and Judith Thompson (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).

[482] Mary's use of the word *web*, while referring to a textile creation, may also echo Philip's use of the word in his dedication of the *Old Arcadia*. Philip writes, "this idle work of mine, which I fear (like the spider's web) will be thought fitter to be swept away" Philip Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, 3. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations are taken from this edition.

The next stanza then changes the Psalter from a piece of cloth to a garment, returning the focus of the poem to the Queen as she receives the Sidney creation.

> And I the cloth in both our names present,
> A livery robe to be bestowed by thee
> Small parcel of that undischargèd rent,
> From which nor pains nor payments can us free.
> And yet enough to cause our neighbours see
> We will our best, though scanted in our will. (ln. 33-38)

Mary presents the work, claiming equal share both in the creation and the effects. By designating the Psalter a "livery robe," Mary is able to express her further service to the Queen. The contemporary definition of the word "livery" was of articles of clothing worn by servants or employees.[483] Indeed, Philip also uses this word with its attendant associations in his dedication of the *Arcadia*. In a teasing manner, he compares the text to a child he was "loath to father," but the text's "chief protection [is] the bearing the livery of your [Mary's] name."[484] Livery articles of clothing marked out not only the one wearing them, but also the one whom he or she served. This allows the Psalter to not only be a mark of service, but also a useful tool in the Queen's promotion "to be bestowed" on whomever she sees fit. The Psalter as a shared textile creation will occur again in the second poem, although in a less-articulated way. In the midst of metaphorically presenting her gift to the Queen, Mary in "Even now that care" momentarily forgets her brother's death. She channels her brother's imagined

[483] *OED*, livery. Margaret P. Hannay argues that with the use of "livery" Mary Sidney is actually authorizing the circulation of her work by the Queen. "'Bearing the livery of your name:' The Countess of Pembroke's Agency in Print and Scribal Publications," 8-9.
[484] *Arcadia*, 3.

presence by using first person plural pronouns in this fifth stanza. The gift of the Psalter is insufficient, but is "enough to cause *our* neigbours" (ln. 37) to see the their allegiance to Elizabeth, though it is small in comparison to "*our* will" (ln. 38) to give more to the Queen. Then, suddenly the plural pronouns slip away as Pembroke returns to praising the Queen and describing the Psalter.

The bodies of Philip and Mary can only ever come to the Queen in livery, as subservient to her, but now their creation becomes a royal companion rising above its creators. Mary now conjures "The Psalmist King" (ln. 29) who rises as the Sidney Psalter. This shifting of the Psalter to a metaphorical body is similar to the second line in "To the Angel Spirit" where the Sidney Psalter is labeled "this coupled work." However, in this poem, their creation is more clearly named and presented as the King David. In the midst of praising Elizabeth in the sixth and seventh stanza, Mary dedicates the Psalter as a royal companion.

> Where wit, where art, where all that is divine
> Conceivèd best and best defended lies,
>
> Which if men did not (as they do) confess
> And wronging worlds would otherwise consent,
> Yet here who minds so meet a patroness
> For author's state or writing's argument?
> A king should only to a queen be sent:
> God's lovèd choice unto his chosen love,
> Devotion to devotion's president,
> What all applaud, to her whom none reprove (ln. 47-56).

Since "a king should only to a queen be sent," the only appropriate body to compare The Sidney Psalter with is King David, its reputed author. Mary

carefully maps out how David and Elizabeth are equals, and thus evenly matched.

> For ev'n thy rule is painted in his reign:
> Both clear in right, both nigh by wrong oppressed:
> And each at length (man crossing God in vaine)
> Possessed of place, and each in peace possessed. (ln. 65-68)

By imaging the Psalter as the confident royal body of David, Mary places the work securely beyond reproof. David's "hope, his zeal, his prayer, plaint, and praise" (ln. 60) are revealed throughout the Sidney Psalter. Yet in these lines, the poem goes beyond allowing Elizabeth to merely sympathize with David's trials. Instead, Mary uses a rather traditional typological bibilical interpretation equating the English monarch's rule to the Old Testament reign when she writes, "for ev'n thy rule is painted in his reign." Elizabeth's reign then is not merely comparable but correlative to King David's rule.

With these well-matched qualities, this poem could well be introducing a royal suitor for the Virgin Queen's hand. Line 54 introduces this divinely approved match between a king and a queen: “God's lovèd choice unto his chosen love.” The first two lines of the following stanza read more like narration from a love poem than a dedication:

> Thus hand in hand with him thy glories walk:
> But who can trace them where alone they go? (ln. 53-54)

This projected physical intimacy between Elizabeth and David is unexpected. Certainly seeing Elizabeth as an equivalent, divinely-appointed modern David

was not uncommon, and seeing the Psalter as the body of David, its author is a logical comparison. However, as I have shown in Chapter One, the biblical character of David had a literary history and an artistic iconography that was fraught with erotic ambivalence. He was the musical Shepherd-King, but he was simultaneously throughout the early modern period, also connected with the story of Bathsheba. As we have seen previously, connecting the male body of King David to the biblical text, does not negate this underlying sexual history. Thus placing this sexually charged character in close personal contact with the Virgin Queen, imagining them discoursing alone "hand in hand," introduces shades of moral ambiguity. This unsettling proximity of Elizabeth to the complicated and polygamous King David is never resolved in the poem. Instead, by the end of the stanza, Mary attempts to restore propriety, by closing the proverbial curtain, on the scene when she says, “But soft, my muse . . .f orbear this heav’n where only eagles fly” (ln. 79-80). Rather than the gift of a royal male body fit for shared companionship, Mary attempts to contain the sudden tension and King David's body becomes a biblical manuscript once again—safe because it can be closed and put down, effectively silencing any sexual ambiguity.

The Sidney Psalter pictured as livery robe given in service to the Queen marks it as a text for her personal use. As the confident royal body of King David, the Psalter is resurrected as her equal, personal companion, who can walk beside the Queen in private and intimate moments. We have noted the potential impropriety of the image. The oddity and extremity of this proposed union might perhps be understoon as the consequence of the text’s underpinnings in a moment of loss and dissociation. In the midst of these more positive images of service and patronage, Mary's grief over her brother's death

still rises to the surface. Even while praising Elizabeth's rule, Mary slips into a reverie about her brother, inserting a gasp of grief at line twenty-three as she contemplates how her brother *might* be were he still alive and they both the presenters of the manuscript. As all who loose those they love, she laments the fact that she has been left behind.

> Which once in two, now in one subject go,
> The poorer left, the richer reft away,
> Who better might (o might: ah, word of woe.)
> Have giv'n for me what I for him defray.
>
> How can I name whom sighing sighs extend,
> And not unstop my tears' eternal spring? (ln. 21-26)

While "Even now that care" never specifically names Philip, but instead uses third person masculine pronouns, the shadow of his death is still cast across Mary as she grieves, tingeing an upbeat dedicatory poem with the shadow of death.

The Body of the Sidney Psalter: Decay and Grief

In "To the Angel Spirit," the second prefatory poem included in this same manuscript, Mary turns away from Elizabeth, exposing her grief in an elegiac dedication of the Psalter not to the queen, but to her dead brother's spirit. Unlike the previous poem, "To the Angel Spirit," "blends broken bodies . . . emotional reckoning, eternizing conceits, and hyperbolic praise—in short, it trades heavily on typical Petrarchan poetic conventions."[485] The full title of the poem undercute

[485] Wall, *Imprint*, 315.

the previous royal dedication of the Psalter: "To the Angel Spirit of the Most Excellent Sir Philip Sidney." The first stanza continues this theme:

> To thee pure sprite, to thee alone's addressed
> This coupled work, by double interest thine:
> First raised by thy blest hand
> Inspired by thee, thy secret power impressed.
> So dared my Muse with thine itself combine,
> As mortal stuff with that which is divine;
> Thy light'ning beams give lustre to the rest. (ln. 1-6)

This decisive dedication to Philip in the opening line: "to thee alone's," supports the idea that Elizabeth never actually saw the manuscript. In stark contrast to "Even now that Care," these opening lines not only dedicate the Psalter to Philip, but also immediately introduce the idea of his corporeal presence. The Psalter was first "raised by [Philip's] hand," much like a child. This line also seems to evoke the child previously "raised" by Philip, which was his *Arcadia*.

While the opening lines acknowledge Philip's original conception of the Psalter, Mary lays claim to the "coupled work." Both were necessary to create it, yet Mary continues using the humility topos when referring to her own work. The Psalter is "by double int'rest thine" (ln. 2) and "there lives no witt" (ln. 49) able to praise Philip sufficiently. Further she asks "pardon . . . for her presumption too too bold" (ln. 25) in finishing the text of the Psalter. Yet, she is not completely abject, as *her* words are the ones that will become "Imortall Monuments" (ln. 71) to Philip's memory. So while she appears to diminsh she never disavows her own work. Further, as the editors of her *Collected Works* observe, Mary never connects these protestations of humility with her gender,

which other women writers of the period do, but attaches this humility topos only to her work as a writer.[486]

Mary makes her authorial claim within her dedicatory poems. The first stanza in "To the Angell Spirit" refers to the Psalter as a creation, a body of text, made through the "coupled worke" of its authors, which has drawn the attention of much scholarship. In a scene reminiscent of one of Zeus' *tête-à-têtes* with a female mortal, Mary describes the creation of the Psalter:

> So dared my Muse with thine itself combine,
> As mortal stuff with that which is divine. (ln. 5-6)

The line referring to the Sidney Psalter as "this coupled work" has been at the center of one of the controversies surrounding Philip and Mary's relationship. Rumors written almost a century after Philip's death implicate the two in an incestuous relationship.[487] As there is no factual evidence for this and only decades old hearsay, most scholars have soundly rejected the idea that the two had any kind of sexual relationship. Instead they examine the intense relationship evident in "To an Angel Spirit" in a theoretical manner.[488] As Wendy Wall argues, Mary is "coupled" textually to her brother, "as Philip's body became

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[486] *Collected Works*, 1:109.
[487] See Gary F. Waller, "The Countess of Pembroke and Gendered Reading" in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon,* eds. Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990. For the original rumours, see John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* ed. John Buchanan-Brown (London: Penguin Books, 2000).
[488] See Jonathan Goldberg, "The Countess of Pembroke's Literal Translation," *Desiring Women Writing: English Renaissance Examples* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 114-34 for the argument that Mary's "incestuous" relationship with Philip was theoretical and produced only a literary progeny. For a summary of this controversy see Margaret P. Hannay, "Introduction," in *Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke* Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England 1550-1700 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), xxiii-xxiv.

a central icon in her construction of authorial and cultural identity."[489] While these lines praise Philip's divine, quasi-god like status, the irony is obvious. Mary may be labeling Philip's "stuff" as divine, but, in fact, he has been proven as mortal as any man who dies.

The use of the past tense verbs in this stanza introduces an ambiguous temporal space into the poem. Mary is referring to the Psalter in the present as a creation that she and Philip have brought into existence, "raised" by Philip's hand, but it is clear that Philip is dead, if only from the poem's title. The Psalter then is something existing in the present, and yet Mary is conjuring up its creator, who pierces the divide between the living and the dead, making his corporeal presence known. Mary Ellen Lamb argues similarly that the placement of this poem at the start of the text positions the entire Psalter "produced through Philip's inspiration and addressed solely to his eyes, as a conversation with her deceased brother, as an intermediate stage of communion with the dead."[490] Lamb extends this poem to the rest of Mary's canon, seeing it as an expression of Mary's own death wish. "To the Angel Spirit" ends in Mary's exclamation, "Oh happy change, could I so take my leave!" (ln. 90), as she longs to be reunited with her brother. The Psalter then is a creation that remains under the spectre of bodies: Philip's body, its own body as a textual creation of its authors, and the body of the penitent found in the Penitential Psalms, which will be discussed below. The association is in a sense incoherent: Philip is not imagined to have anything to repent. Yet the two potently interact with each other, forming the basis for Mary's authorial activity.

In this first stanza, Mary linguistically echoes Philip's dedication in the *Arcadia*. In that text, Philip names himself as the sole creator, but he writes that

[489] Wall, *Imprint*, 319.
[490] Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, 116.

Mary was present at its creation, "being done in loose sheets of paper, most of it in [her] presence."[491] Philip labels the long pastoral narrative as "this child which I am loath to father" but that he hopes will be "pardoned, [or] perchance made much of" as a doting aunt might do for a niece or nephew.[492] The *Arcadia*, he claims, was created for Mary's amusement, for her "idle times." Philip also slips from one metaphor to another: the *Arcadia* at first is a monster-child created for "follies," but Philip also uses the clothing metaphor, comparing his work to ornaments, "feathers" that are used to embellish one's outfit.

In the second stanza, Mary moves from a coupled corporeal creation to clothing, She still claims the Psalter as divine in its essence, but she has crafted it into attire to be worn and examined.

> That heaven's king may deign his own, transformed
> In substance no, but superficial 'tire
> By thee put on, to praise—not to aspire
> To—those high tones so in themselves adorned,
> Which angels sing in their celestial choir. (ln. 8-12)

God's divine meaning has been refashioned into Sidnean attire. William Hunnis also uses this clothing metaphor in the opening of his lyrical version of the Penitential Psalms, *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne* (1583). In his address for the "Authour to his Booke," Hunnis writes that his psalms are "more rich . . . in thred-bare cote . . . then some in silken gowne."[493] This metaphor allowed those writers refashioning scripture during the sixteenth century to attest that they were retaining biblically inspired content within the artistic reshaping of the exterior. Margaret P. Hannay argues that this metaphor permitted the

[491] ibid, 116.
[492] Sidney, *Arcadia*, 3.
[493] Hunnis, *Seven Sobs*, a3^{v}.

contemporary reader of lyrical psalmody to accept the notion that the artist's and David's words combined to become one, and that for the devotional reader, "the translator/poets evidently slipped out of sight, and only God's words remained visible in these metrical psalms."[494] However, this fails to take into account the "superficial 'tire," which is precisely what one *does* see.

Wendy Wall finds a different use for Mary's clothing metaphor. Wall argues that it allows Mary to gender her writing and hide textual weaknesses that may be found in women's writing but not in men's. The clothing metaphor

> alters the resonances of the body metaphor. As a series of 'holy garments' (alternately worn by David, the reader, and Elizabeth) and a 'liverie robe' stitched, warped, woven, and attired, the text seems to shroud the broken body, to drop a veil over the corporeal object through a craft that is decidedly aristocratic, domestic, and female. Sidney revels in her ability to call forth the body and then to make 'peec't' cloth from pieces of limbs. In this way, the work presents and conceals the wounded body.[495]

Wall acknowledges the presentation of the body in the poem, but argues that Mary uses the clothing metaphor to "present" and then soften the corporeality of the poem. However, throwing up a domesticated screen of cloth seems the furthest thing from the author's intention and indeed the text's progression. Clothing evokes thoughts of the body, making the clothing metaphor a natural path into a discussion of bodies. The presence of clothing implies *something* to put the clothing on—that is, *the body*. And indeed, as Wall intimates in the previous quote, "To the Angel" is filled with gore, a memory of violence, and fractured body parts. "Deep wounds" putrefy "in their gall" (ln. 20). Body parts are mentioned in almost every stanza, giving the impression of a dismembered

[494] Margaret P. Hannay, "Re-revealing the Psalms," 20.
[495] Wall, *The Imprint*, 316-17.

corpse throughout the poem. The Psalter is "raised by thy blest hand" in line three, while tongues praise Philip's work in line thirteen. Eyes are confused with hearts in line twenty, but the hearts seem like they could be dripping blood or tears or both: "Fresh bleeding smart; not eye—but heart—tears fall." This grief strikes pain in Mary's heart and silences her senses in line forty-six. Her blood appears in lines fifty-one, eighty, and eighty one. And blinded eyes are referred to in lines fifty-five and sixty nine. Very little of the physicality of grief is concealed here.

Mary's dedicatory poem marks the Psalter as being born out of tragedy, through the death of its progenitor. Here the corpus of the Psalter is not a child or King David, but instead becomes the dead body of her brother. Philip's psalms could have been "a 'front-line' composition, left, like its author, maimed, sick and bleeding."[496] Since he was only able to complete paraphrastic versions of the first fourty-three psalms, leaving an unfinished manuscript, Mary was left to piece together the parts into a resurrected whole. The Psalter, "this halfe maim'd peece" (ln. 18), blends with visions of her brother's dead and wounded body. In the middle of the third stanza, just after this reference to the text, Mary suddenly begins disscussing Philip's body, re-enacting his wounding and death through her words:

> Deepe wounds enlarg'd, long festered in their gall
> Fresh bleeding smart; not eye—but heart—tears fall (ln. 19-20).

With her act of remembering, Philip's wounds open wide, "fresh bleeding, " as Mary mirrors his own wounds in her grief. His wounds bleed fresh drops while her "heart [lets] tears fall" (ln. 20). The speaker folds the past into the present, in

[496] Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 277.

a moment of temporal perforation, recounting both the memory of past grief *and* the present act of the dripping heart and eyes when she sighs over her grief, "Ah, memory, what needs the new arrest?" (ln. 21). Only in the later stanza will Mary's body of writing and Philip's wounded physical body fully merge with the each other, for now she circles her grief, pulling back from entering the abyss of sympathetic experience, instead she turns again to describing the pieced together corpus of the Psalter.

According to the poem, "this finished" (ln. 23) Psalter was created to bring praise to Philip and "pay the debt of infinitis I owe" (ln. 35). But here too the speaker-mourner Mary interjects moments of grief as describing the Psalter brings up moments of remembrance. "Yet here behold, (oh wert thou to behold!)" the speaker laments. These exclamations continue to bring the wounded body of Philip to the forefront of the reader's experience. As the poem progresses, the pieced-together body of the text slowly comes into focus as an analogue of Philip's own broken body. As Wendy Wall writes, "his anatomy blends with the very text of the *Psalmes* because both are wounded, bereft, and incomplete."[497]

In the penultimate stanza, Mary closes her apostrophe to Philip with an assurance to him and to herself that the following lines of the Psalter are a result of her physical turmoil:

> To which these dearest off'rings of my heart
> Dissolved to ink, while pen's impressions move
> The bleeding veines of never dying love,
> I render here: these wounding lines of smart,
> Sad characters indeed of simple love. (ln. 78-81)

[497] Wall, *Imprint*, 316.

Just as Philip's body was bleeding, Mary's words have issued from her bleeding veins. Interestingly, she does not give closure to her elegy. While the next stanza says she must "take her leave" (ln. 88), there is no indication that her "wounding lines of smart" will ever be closed.[498] Rather, her work, the Psalter, seems to be a festering wound "of never dying love." There is no hope of staunching the lines that pour out her love for her brother. By creating this text of perpetual personal wounding, Mary can never move out of her act of mourning, but is instead stuck in the self-reflexive wounding of melancholia.[499] Mary intended the corpus of the Psalter as a memorial to Philip's memory, but this stanza reveals it has become much more than that: it also embodies her own empathetic self-reflection.

A divine text encased in human clothing, an author's dead and wounded body, a resurrected biblical king, another author's continuously bleeding inky veins: all of these images are present in the Sidney Psalter. References to the human body may be found throughout the Sidney Psalter; however, the corporeality found in the Penitential Psalms is of a body that is broken, dismembered, buried, and drowned. Brokenness and anatomizing can even be

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[498] In Mary's focus on the physicality of Sidney's dead body and the continuation of his wounding through her own body of writing, "To the Angel Spirit" is similar to early modern child-loss texts. These texts, unlike other Reformation-era loss poems, would often focus on the physicality of the dead child while attempting to reincorporate the child into the maternal body, thus making the maternal body "the tomb of its lamented offspring." See Patricia Berrahou Phillippy, *Women, Death, and Literature in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 138. Elizabeth Harris Sagaser points out this similarity to early modern child-loss in "To the Angel" 's images of decay . . . [which] become images of a pathetic-fallacy type of empathy and reincorporation." See "Elegiac Intimacy: Pembroke's 'To the Angell spirit of the most Excellent Sir Philip Sidney,'" *Sidney Journal* 23 (2005), 115.

[499] In his foundational paper Freud explains it this way: "In mourning it is the world which has become poor and empty; in melancholia it is the ego itself. The patient represents his ego to us as worthless, incapable of any achievement and morally despicable; he reproaches himself, vilifies himself and expects to be cast out and punished." See Sigmund Freud "Mourning and Melancholia," in *On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works (1914-1916)* vol. 14 *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: Random House, 2001), 254.

seen in the grouping of the Penitential Psalms. These seven reflect "the rest [of the Psalter] but pieced," as Philip left them undone. They are a microcosm of the whole corpus. Philip wrote 6, 32, and 38, while Mary wrote 51, 102, 130, 143. Aside from rephrasing two lines in 32, Mary did almost no editing and revision of Philip's three Penitentials, so that even in their very grouping they are a "halfe maim'ed peece," put together by two authors, who are wounded, either physically or emotionally.[500]

The Penitential Body Displayed and Dismembered

The central focus of the Penitential Psalms is the speaker's regret for his or her sin—the thing that has become a barrier to communion with God. In various modes of expression, the penitent initializes the rhetoric of confession and repentance by focusing on this barrier in hopes that God will hear and forgive. This progression can be seen in Philip's Psalm 32.

> So I myself accused to God,
> And his sweet grace straight eased the rod,
> And did due pain forgive me. (ln. 16-18)

The previous texts in this thesis have engaged with this cycle of confession and penance or repentance in various ways. Yet the Sidnean Penitentials are unique. Anne Lock's Conscience was imagined as a vivisector, poised with the knife to cut open and display the penitent's heart. Yet it is in the Sidney's Penitential Psalms that the body of the penitent is no longer whole, but becomes anatomized and partitioned. The few times the Sidneys'penitential body is

[500] For information on Mary's editing of Philip's psalms, see Demers, "'Warpe' and 'Webb' in the Sidney Psalms,"48.

presented as a whole are in moments of destruction, as a corpse. Further, the penitent's body is dressed in parts, much like the hunted and killed animal. Just as the slain animal is divided, so is the penitent's body; this dividing and displaying eventually causes the penitent to question the bounds of humanity.

The Sidneys' penitent not only regrets his or her sin but also displays the self as a partitioned and weakened body. The speaker's sin is the cause of this partitioning although, paradoxically, in some sections of the Penitentials, the penitent uses this anatomization as proof of contrition, which in turn gives access to God. The Sidnean Penitential Psalms reveal a "poetics of dissection" that creates a version of autoblazoning, questioning the late sixteenth century's definitions of humanity. In his book, *The Body Emblazoned*, Jonathan Sawday argues that during the 1580's and 90's an increase in scientific knowledge affected conceptualizations of general knowledge, so that anatomical terms and methods began to permeate discussions about everything from faith to fiction. This gave birth to what Sawday labels, the "'poetics of dissection,' an imaginative construction of anatomy which fed upon the emerging scientific exploration of the human frame."[501] The penitent speaker references and examines parts of him- or herself in a manner similar to Vesaluis' parading anatomized corpses in his famous *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543) (see fig. 4.4) or Michalengelo's St. Bartholomew, casually holding his own flayed skin (see fig. 4.5).[502] It is with this cultural framework in mind that I will approach the penitential body in the Sidnean Penitential Psalms.

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[501] Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, 44.

[502] *Renaissance Bodies*, a collection of essays edited by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn contains an interesting chapter on the self-displaying bodies found in the Renaissance anatomist's textbook. See, Jonathan Sawday, "The Fate of Marsyas: Dissecting the Renaissance Body" *Renaissance Bodies: Human Figure in English Culture, c. 1540-1660*, eds. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 111-135.

fig. 4.4 Andreas Vesalius, *Compendiosa totius anatomie delineatio, aere exarata: per Thomam Geminum* (London, 1545), Biii^{v}.

Please see the print copy held at the University of St. Andrews library.

fig. 4.5 Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti, Detail of *The Last Judgment*, Sistine Chapel, 1541.

The "poetics of dissection" provides the penitent within the Sidney Penitential Psalms the desire to seek further knowledge of his or her own condition, which in turn leads to this self-dismemberment. The penitent anatomizes his or her corporeal self, hoping to gain access to the spiritual self, and thus the God who created both selves. Mary and Philip could never have access to the interior of their own bodies, but within these psalms, they have created a penitent with access to the spiritual self via the fantasy of a dismembered corporeal self.[503] As the speaker grieves over sin, he or she displays sections of his or her own body with the careful precision of an

[503] This is an extension of Sawday's ideas concerning the desire to see inside one's own body. He argues that this "denied direct experience of ourselves" is at the root of the desire to see inside others' bodies; see *The Body Emblazoned*, 8.

anatomist. One stanza in Philip's Psalm 32 shows evidence of this self-anatomizing in order to access contrition. Partially quoted earlier, here I give the entire stanza to show the progression from confession and self-anatomizing to forgiveness.

> Till myself did my faults confess,
> And opened mine own wickedness
> Whereto my heart did give me:
> So I myself accused to God
> And his sweet grace straight eased the rod,
> And did due pain forgive me. (ln. 13-18)

The speaker opens his or her "own wickedness" which is found within the heart: The confession and opening of the interior self to both him- or herself and God is reminiscent of a cracking and opening ribcage, exposing the deepest sections of the body. The speaker clearly links this act of bodily exposure to the forgiveness received from God. Yet, as the penitent enacts this autoblazoning, the lines between him- or herself and other creatures begin to blur. At times the penitent is incapable of distinguishing between his or her own person and the animals surrounding him or her.

This blurring of human and animal characteristics is rooted in the strong animal presence throughout the entire Psalter. The biblical Book of Psalms is filled with references to nature and animals. The speaker often compares himself and his desires to animals: he is like a hart (Ps. 42:1), an owl (Ps. 102:6), and a dove (Ps. 28:1), to name just a few. But the speaker is not the only one compared to animals. The wicked "lurk in secret like a lion,"[504] but then the lion does double duty when it represents the righteous in another psalm (Ps. 28:1). Over

[504] Ps. 10:9.

and over animals are enlisted to praise God throughout the Book of Psalms.[505] Philip notes these strong animal connections in his *Apology,* listing animal *prosopopeias* as proof of the Psalmist's poetic skill:

> The holy David's Psalms are a divine poem . . . even the name psalms will speak for me, which being interpreted, is nothing but songs . . . . For what else is the awaking his musical instruments, the often and free changing of persons, his notable *prosopeias*, when he maketh you, as it were, see God coming in His majesty, his telling of the beasts' joyfulness.

The Sidney Psalter retains many of the original animal references found in the scripture, but adds others as well. The influence of a Calvinistic theology of the post-lapsarian world, particularly concerning the doctrine of sin, can be found in some of these references as they often reveal the speaker's theology of the self and his perceived relationship to God. Some of these uses are indefinite and often reflect a porous divide between the human and animal worlds. Anatomical discourse in this period tended to focus primarily on the human body. But in the Sidney Psalter, the anatomical is innately linked to an encompassing movement that repeatedly blurs the line between human and animal identities.

Psalm 6, which is the first of Philip's three Penitential Psalms, contains a striking animal reference. Instead of comparing him or herself to an animal, the speaker *is* an animal. The Victorian John Ruskin labeled this psalm as "the feeblest work" in the collection.[506] Ruskin published his own version of the

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[505] In fact, modern theologians have recently extended this study of animals in the Psalms to the growing specialty field of ecotheology. See Benedict Janecko, "Ecology, Nature and the Psalms," *Psalms and Other Studies*, ed. Jack C. Knight and Lawrence A. Sinclair. (Natosha, WI: Natosha House Seminary, 1990) pp. 96-108 and *The Earth Story in the Psalms and the Prophets*, ed. Norman C. Habel (Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

[506] *Rock Honeycomb: Broken Pieces of Sir Philip Sidney's Psalter*, ed. John Ruskin (London: Ellis and White, 1877), 23.

Sidney Psalter, labeling it: *Rock Honeycomb*: *Broken Pieces of Sir Philip Sidney's Psalter,* alluding to the broken and fragmented nature of the Sidney Psalter. Because Ruskin saw this Psalm as inferior, he assigned it to Mary's authorship. Inspite of Ruskin's assertions, Psalm 6 accomplishes a lot in 32 lines of quatrains; it focuses on the penitent's weakness and his or her inability to revive or protect him or herself. The penitent's weakness seems a direct result of sin and "the heat of [God's] displeasure" (ln. 2), but paradoxically it also allows the penitent access to God. The first three quatrains are the speaker's pleas to God to have mercy. The speaker searches for a metaphor to describe just how low he or she feels in relation to God, and finally settles on a creature from the animal world.

> Lord, let not me, a worm, by thee be shent.
> While thou art in the heat of thy displeasure:
> Ne let thy rage, of my due punishment
> Become the measure. (ln. 1-4)

Philip's use of the worm in this psalm is unique. It is not present in the Geneva Psalms or the 1540 Great Bible, and Patricia Demers finds no precedent for it in the other sources Philip could have consulted while composing this poem.[507] He may have gleaned inspiration for this image from Psalm 22:6; translated in the Geneva Bible as: "But I am a worm, and not a man: a shame of men, and the contempt of the people." However, the commentators' gloss makes it clear that the editors want to read this as a messianic verse: "And seeming most miserable of all creatures, which was ment of Christ. And herein appeareth the unspeakeable love of God toward man, that he woulde thus abase his Sonne for

[507] "'Warpe'," *Literary Couplings*, 49.

our sakes."[508] At the start of the second book of Philip's *Arcadia*, the downtrodden Gynecia sounds quite similar to the penitent speaker of Psalm 6 when she declares herself "an over-thrown worm."[509] In this psalm however, Philip subverts this metaphor and instead starts the first grouping of the Penitential Psalms with a worm *as* the penitent.

By the second quatrain, the speaker has slipped over the animal/human divide and apparently become human once again. The penitent cries:

> But mercy, Lord, let mercy thine descend,
> For I am weak, and in my weakness languish:
> Lord help, for ev'n my bones their marrow spend
> With cruel anguish. (ln. 5-8)

The penitent sandwiches the exclamation, "Lord help" between two statements of physical weakness. The speaker turns inward, languishing at the most interior level, the bones' marrow, to prove his or her need for God's help, indicating a deep identification with his or her own sin and suffering. In two stanzas, the penitent changes rhetorical strategy, retreating from this close examination to objectifing his or her spiritual situation, by referring to him or herself through positional statements.

> Mercy, oh, mercy, Lord, for mercy's sake,
> For death doth kill the witness of thy glory.
> Can of thy praise the tounges entombèd make
> A heavenly story? (ln.13-16)

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[508] Geneva Bible (1560), Nniii[V].
[509] *Old Arcadia*, 80.

"The witness of thy glory" is the speaker. The phrase "tounges entombèd" emphasises not only the mouth's organ, but also the effects of death on the mouth itself. In death the tongue becomes entombed in the mouth, buried within a cavity that will never open again. By speaking of his or her death in an objectified and distanced sense, the speaker reprimands God, reminding God that he shouldn't kill "the witness of thy glory." Positioning him or herself in the third person and with this title, the penitent uses a passive rhetoric to appeal to the benefits God *will* have should the penitent receive forgiveness and relief by avoiding a death caused by God's wrath.

In the sixth quatrain the penitent returns to anatomizing him or herself while using first person pronouns, and again uses a second animal metaphor.

> Woe, like a moth, my face's beauty eats,
> And age pulled on with pains all freshness fretteth;
> The while a swarm of foes with vexing feats
> My life besetteth. (ln. 20-24)

Here Philip seems unique in using this comparison. While "worm" in the sixteenth century did not always mean a caterpillar, in this instance, it is possible to read "moth" retroactively onto the "worm" mentioned at the start of the poem. This interpretation then brings the metaphor full circle, implying the continuity and growing nature of man's sin. Woe, the penitent's internal emotion brought on by the realization of personal sin, becomes acidic, eating the beauty of the penitent's face. The internal landscape of the penitent bleeds into the corporeal self, wearing it out by attrition and revealing sin's effects to those who see his or her face. This section closes with a final reference to the animal world in the word "swarm," as the sinner's enemies are also imagined as insects.

Psalm 32 opens in the familiar style of other biblical passages, including Psalm 1 and The Beatitudes, with the word, "Blessed." Philip retains this opening, present in both the Great Bible and the Geneva Psalms. The first stanza focuses on the divine process of forgiveness which takes place with little action on the part of the penitent. Only the last line implies any agency on the part of the sinner, describing the blessed man as the one, "whose spirit falsehood flieth" (ln. 6). At first, the opening appears innocuous, but, as the use of third person pronouns only serves to emphasise the penitent's physical and spiritual isolation from the community of the blessed. The penitent speaks in isolation throughout the rest of the poem, taking responsibility for sin, using first person pronouns, but eventually the speaker despairs of ever receiving relief from the physical effects of his or her sin.

Thus I, pressed down with weight of pain,
Whether I silent did remain,
Or roared, my bones still wasted.
For so both day and night did stand
On wretched me, thy heavy hand;
My life hot torments tasted. (ln. 7-12)

The first line, "thus I" excludes the penitent from the previous stanza, touching on the despair of ever actually being able to access the "blessed's" estate. In the first three lines, there is a progressive narrowing of the penitent's pain. First the penitent is "pressed down" with an unspecified pain that is not relieved by cries to God. In the third line, he or she focuses in again on his or her bones, as in Psalm 6. Line 6 with its middle break introduces another corporeal referance, but instead of being an examination of the penitent's body, it is now "thy heavy hand." God's heavy hand is the cause of the wretched sinner's estate. The image

of a weighty hand pressing the sinner down, once again circles back to the starting line, now that the penitent understands what has been causing the presssure of pain. God is anatomized here as well, but to with a different effect. Throughout these Penitentials, the penitent's anatomization signifies his or her weakness, emphasising sin, and questioning the penitent's humanity. God's anatomization, however, serves to emphasise his immensity and inscrutability. The speaker cannot know God, so instead he must try to comprehend and describe him only in parts.

The third stanza contains the sinner's painful resolution after confessing sin, that comes from "the rod" (ln. 17). The Great Bible does not contain a reference to this "rod" of God. Instead, the verse reads, "I wyll knowledge my synne unto the, and myne unryghteousnesse haue I not hyd. I sayde: I wyll confesse my synnes unto the Lorde, & so thou forgavest the wyckednesse of my synne." Philip's addition of "the rod" of line seventeen appears to be a unique interpretation. With this addition, perhaps the penitent is referencing God's threatened punishment in Psalm 89:32. The Geneva Bible translates 89:32 as: "Then will I visite their transgression with the rod, and their iniquitie with strokes." Upon closer examination of the Sidney psalm, it is clear the penitent has moved beyond an oral confession of sins. Instead he or she progresses further and further in a process of self-examination. First the penitent must admit his or her own faults to him or herself, not to an absolving hearer. The second line is a deeper level of self-revelation. The pentinent "opened mine own wickedness . . . [that] my heart did give me" (ln. 14-15). The penitent is now delving deeper into the spiritual self, beyond merely admitting sins, to discover the motivation behing them, in order to open the interior up even further to God. Instead of Anne Lock's "cruell conscience with sharpned knife [that]. . .doth

splat" the penitent's "ripped hert and layes abrode . . . his or her lothesome secretes" of the penitent's "filthy life," here the penitent spreads his or her own heart open, to reveal the interior darkness.[510]

The next two stanzas contain the speaker's soaring pronouncements of protection and favor now that he or she has been restored by God's forgiveness. In the fifth stanza, the speaker turns outward, giving instructions to others, saying "come, come the way I will teach thee" (ln. 29). In the biblical text, it is unclear who utters this advice. Thomas Wyatt has these words being spoken by God to David, but Philip gives these words to the forgiven speaker, further emphasizing the speaker's restored spiritual standing. The animal metaphor of stanza six puts forth a relatively traditional reformed view of the post-lapsarian, mischief-filled world, unlike the unusual comparison in Psalm 38 below.

> Oh, be not like a horse or mule
> Wholly devoid of reason's rule;
> Whose mouths thyself dost bridle:
> Knowing full well, that beasts they be,
> And therefore soon would mischief thee,
> If thou remaned'st idle. (ln. 32-36)

It is no surprise that Philip, whose name literally means "horse-lover," includes this animal in his Penitential.[511] The author of this stanza, an accomplished horseman, would have known that the purpose of bridling a horse is to control the animal that is "devoid of reason's rule." Here, the speaker warns the listener (or him or herself) that being "idle" and inattentive to the controls of sin will lead

[510] Anne Vaughan Lock, *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*, 10: 151-153.
[511] For a further discussion on the etymology of Philip's name, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, 62.

to animal-like instincts and destruction. The penitent warns: the self must be bridled.

In addition to this warning to restrain oneself, Philip's Psalm 32 reflects an early modern shift from a neutral Aristotelian world to a malevolent Nature. Humans "knowing full well, that beasts they be" must bridle animals to control their innate bent to "mischief" humans. This section also evidences the wide-spread paradigm that lasted throughout the sixteenth and seventeen centuries which argued that humans had ultimate dominion over the natural world and could therefore use it in whatever way they wished. Aristotle argued in his *Ethics* that animals had a certain, albeit limited, form of reasoning, but lacked the capability to make choices, acting not out of free will but merely out of instinct. Based on this premise, he argued that it would be fallacious to assign motive to animal actions and reactions, even though they often harm humans.[512] Reformed theologians modified the traditional Aristotelian view by arguing that animals did act out of instinct, but that as a result of man's sinfulness, that instinct was now bent towards destruction. The reformed worldview of the sin-damaged, post-lapsarian world demanded the bridling and control of these animals. Erica Fudge points out that for the reformed thinker, "Human wildness led to animal wildness."[513] Calvin, in his commentary on Genesis, wrote that as soon as Adam "began to be obstinate and rebellious against God, he felt the fiercenes of the brute beastes against him."[514] Reformed theologians argued that while man had dominion over nature in pre-lapsarian Eden, Adam's choice to sin brought about a direct reaction of hostility from the animal world.

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[512] *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. David Ross (Oxford University Press: 2009) iii. 2 & 10.
[513] Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000) 38.
[514] *A Commentarie of John Caluine, Upon the first booke of Moses called Genesis* (1578).

Philip's third penitential psalm, Psalm 38, is perhaps the most corporeal, with several references to parts of the speaker's body. The speaker's "flesh" (ln. 8), "bones" (ln. 9), "head" (ln. 11), and "eyes" (ln. 30) are all present in this psalm. The penitent spirals down into despair over sin, which causes the penitent's body to be anatomizes into mere parts of a whole. The penitent soon loses more and more human characteristics causing slippage into the animal world. The poem opens as the penitent examines the physical effects of God's judgment upon him:

> For thy shafts have pierced me sore;
> And yet more,
> Still thy hands upon me be.
>
> No sound part caused by thy wrath,
> My flesh hath:
> Nor my sins let my bones rest.
> For my faults are highly spread
> On my own head,
> Whose foul weights have me oppressed. (ln. 4-12)

The penitent focuses on God's methods of wounding. The penitent's body has been shot full of arrows, and yet still he or she feels God's active violence upon his bleeding body. The last lines with its “foul weights” is a direct reference to the contemporary torture of being pressed by weights on the body. The next stanza dovetails with the first as the penitent continues to focus on his wounded flesh, proceeding again to examine the sins that have seeped into his bones. Lines nine through eleven point up the close connection between the speaker's physical torment caused by his sins and the resultant examination of his or her body parts. Lines ten and eleven only increase the message of line nine: "Nor my

sins let my bones rest." As the effects of sin settle into the penitent's body, the physical damage continues throughout the body.

Stanza three returns to the pierced and wounded body of the penitent in a graphic examination of the wounds the divine shafts have caused.

My wounds putrefy and stink
In the sink
Of my filthy folly laid:
Earthly I do bow and crook,
With a look
Still in mourning cheer arrayed. (ln. 13-18)

The speaker bows low, tentatively looking up at God to show with "mourning cheer arrayed" that he or she is yet penitent over his sin. The word choice of "arrayed" is reminiscent of clothing put on the body. The speaker is dressed in "mourning" as he grieves the death of his own self. Further, a contemporary definition for "cheer" was the aspect of the face.[515] This subtle diction keeps the psalm's focus on the effect that sin has had on the penitent's body, and like the speaker's body's posture, which is bent low, his or her face is an outward reflection of the results of sin and his subsequent contrition.

The following two stanzas are anything but subtle and instead explode with references to the penitent's partitioned body.

In my reins hot torments reigns,
There remains
Nothing in my body sound,
I am weak and broken sore,
Yea I roar,

[515] *OED*, cheer 2.

In my heart such grief is found. (ln. 19-24)

With a chiasmic structure, this stanza begins focusing on the interior organs. *Reins* can refer to the kidney or the area around the organ.[516] Philip uses the same word in his paraphrase of Psalm 7 linking the kidneys with the heart as a receptacle of emotion: "Thou righteous proofs to hearts and reins do send" (ln. 28). Philip also retains the traditional translation in Psalm 26 when the speaker declares his or her innocence to God, inviting him to "sound my reins, and inmost of my heart" (ln. 9). Here, the reins or kidneys are in "hot torments" which could subtly refer to a kidney infection, whose traditional mark is a burning sensation when urinating. Then, in line twenty-one and twenty-two the speaker retreats to speak about the condition of the body in general, saying that the entirety of the corporeal self is "weak and broken sore." Finally, to close the stanza, the penitent returns with a roar to the interior of the corpus, to the heart. Both the heart and the kidneys were traditionally held as the seat of a person's emotions, and in this stanza, by isolating them particularly, the speaker focuses on the effects that sin has on these internal parts.[517] This section ends with the penitent's "roar" of grief, a foreshadowing of the animalistic tendencies that will be seen later in this psalm.

The next stanza continues this examination of the heart, leaving the penitent's interior open like the anatomized body on a surgical table.

Lord, before thee I do lay

[516] *OED*, reins 1 & 2.
[517] *OED*, reins 2a. This connection was primarily from the Hebrew used in the Old Testament which connected the heart and the kidneys. English translations from Wycliff to the Authorized version retain these connections throughout the scripture, particularly in the Pentateuch. For an overview of the kidneys in the Bible see Garabed Eknoyan, "The Kidneys in the Bible: What Happened?" *Journal of the American Society of Nephrology* 16 (Dec. 2005), 3464-3471.

What I pray:
My sighs are not hid from thee,
My heart pants, gone is my might,
Ev'n the light
Of my eyes abandons me. (ln. 25-30)

No part of the penitent is hidden from his judge, even the breath and heartbeats are reveled as his or her interior is examined. God here seems to be working as a divine anatomist examining the interior landscape of the penitent, even while the penitent is also performing his or her own self-examination. As the corporeal and emotional self are exposed and come feel the effects of sin, the anatomization takes full effect as the penitent loses complete control of his or her body.

The penitent's body is partitioned and weakened. It has been opened and examined; as a result, it begins to lose its sensual capabilities. The autoblazoning and examination of the sickened, diseased, and failing parts of the penitent's body has lead him or her to loose sight of humanity. Suddenly, in the next stanza, Philip uses animal references and metaphors in a completely different way then the previous Penitentials. By the next stanza the penitent has begun to acquire animal characteristics, and at first he or she begins subtly, by using an animal metaphor to decry his enemies.

They lay snares, they nimble be,
Who hunt me,
Speaking evil, thinking deceit. (ln. 34-36)

The penitent seems to have now turned *into* an animal, being hunted and pursued by evil, lying enemies. The revealing passage about this species change begins at line 37.

But I, like a man become
Deaf and dumb,
Little hearing, speaking less,
I, ev'n as such kind of wight,
Senseless quite,
Word with word do not repress. (ln 37-42)

This stanza suggests a nightmarish episode where the penitent is positioned intermittently between human and animal. The penitent experiences a reverse Actaeon transformation in line thirty-seven. Unlike the Ovidian character's punishment and ultimate destruction, in which Actaeon is changed into an animal, here the speaker is punished to "like a man become[s]." The speaker has shifted from some state of otherness back *into* humanness. Contemporary translations of the Bible do not contain this inter-species movement. The Geneva Psalter translates these two verses of the psalm as: "They also, that seeke after my life, laye snares, and they that go about to do me euil, talke wicked things and imagine deceite continually. But I as a deafe man heard not." In this version, the speaker may be hunted, but it is still "*as* a deafe man." In the scriptural version, the emphasis is on the deficit of the human speaker: an inability to hear. In the Geneva Bible's translation, the speaker's humanity is not in question, rather his or her capabilities are. In Philip's version, however, when the speaker becomes "man" it is as if he or she was now become everything the Calvinistic world saw animals to be: bent on mischief, deranged and evil. Everything is reversed for the speaker as self-identification erodes and he or she returns to humanity.

After several stanzas of partitioning and anatomizing him or herself, the penitent has lost sight of the integrated whole. The penitent shifts from human to animal so seamlessly that the reader has lost track of who (or what) exactly he or she is. This slippage is not only present in the diction, but also in the conceptualization of human speech. The stanza questions the previously articulated reformed anthropocentric view of the natural world found in Philip's Psalm 32. Rather than being a senseless animal that must be bridled, paradoxically it is the human self that is bridled and ceases to communicate. Once the speaker becomes "like a man," he or she is incapable of hearing God's voice and is indeed "senseless," unable to appeal to God with a now-human mouth. Once the speaker becomes a man, he or she loses the essential characteristics that the early modern world used to define humanity.

In his book *Man and the Natural World*, Keith Thomas outlines these three essential human characteristics as: speech, reason, and free agency or moral responsibility.[518] Human speech is one characteristic that Philip explored in his other works as well. First, in *The Arcadia*, the lower class shepherdess Mopsa and her mother Miso are often described in animal-like terms, which are directly connected to their ability (or inability) to speak. Mopsa is set as a foil against the well-spoken princess Pamela who is being courted by the undercover prince Musidorus. Pamela and Musidorus exhibit their skills in manipulating language as an art by composing songs, poems, and playing word games as part of their courtship. Mopsa, however, has difficulty verbally interacting with other characters and is consistently described in animal-like terms. Her inability to communicate places her below the capabilities of the other characters in the text.

[518] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Penguin Books, 1983), 32.

Dorus pretends to court Mopsa, but uses courtly-styled language that is too complicated for her to understand. Mopsa can only respond with a limited vocabulary and is described in a manner reminiscent of a dog, sitting at Dorus's feet.

> Mopsa (who already had a certain smackering towards Dorus) stood all this while with her hand sometimes before her face, . . . wagging her lips and grinning instead of smiling. But all the words he could get of her, was (wrying her waist): 'In faith you jest with me; you are a merry man indeed'.[519]

Dorus finds it impossible to converse with Mopsa as she only wags her lips and grins at him. She replies only when he has caused pain in wringing or twisting her waist. He receives his desired result only when he has applied pressure, in much the same way a horseman receives a desired result through bridling a horse. Finally, Mopsa is described as "turning her muzzle" towards Dorus, which sickens and repulses him.[520] Miso, Mopsa's mother, is also described in animal-like terms. As she searches the town for her husband, believing she will discover him committing adultery, her mannerisms are likened to those of a hunting dog.

> Miso . . . increas[ed] the sport of hunting her husband with her diligent barking. . . . In this sort, grunting out her mischievous spite, she came by the tree even as Dametas was making that ill understood intercession to his foolish Mopsa. As soon as she heard her husband's voice, she verily thought she had her prey.[521]

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[519] Sindey, *The Old Arcadia*, 88.
[520] ibid, 94.
[521] Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, 233-34.

"Grunting," "barking," "hunting," and "wagging" are the words used to describe these two women. This diction positions Mopsa and Miso between human and animal categories, divided from the rest of the human characters because of their limited speech capabilities and their uncontrolled appetites.

Secondly, Philip uses speech as a defining human characteristic in the "Ister bank" poem, also found in the *Arcadia*. This poem is often examined for its socio-political implications, looking for class allusions or Philip's views on forms of a democratic government.[522] The poem, set in an Edenic location where animals beg Jove for a king to rule over them, provides ample room for exploring political discourse. Yet what finds resonance with Philip's psalm is the way that he defines the animals' speech in the "Ister bank" poem. The animals seem to live in a perfected society: "like senators" they have a "harmless empire" (ln. 62). But they become dissatisfied and desire a different form of government.

> The multitude to Jove a suit imparts,
> With neighing, bleaing, braying, and barking,
> Roarding, and howlind, for to have a king.
>
> A king in language theirs they said they would
> (For then their language was a perfect speech).
> The birds likeewise with chirps and pewing could,
> Cackling and chatt'ring, that of Jove beseech.
> Only the owl still warned them not to seech. (ln. 67-74)

[522] David Norbrook, "Sidney and the Political Pastoral" in *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 82-96. See Mary Ellen Lamb, " Exhibiting Class and Displaying the Body in Sidney's *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 37 (Winter, 1997), 55-72. Also Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (London: Yale University Press, 1996).

Onomatopoetic words are used to describe the animal's sounds, but the poem clarifies that "their language was a perfect speech." The animals may have animal sounds, but they seem to have a more Edenic language with words that are non-arbitrary and have a fixed and perfect meaning.

Jove responds and grants their wish, giving them the means to make their king, saying, "I will you lend; the rest yourselves must give" (ln. 83). Each of the animals then imparts a quality to "the naked sprite" (ln. 85) that Jove has created. Then, the animals as a group surrender their language to the newly created human.

> To their own work this privelege they grant:
> That from thenceforth to all eternity
> No beast should freely speak, but only he.
>
> Thus was man made; thus man their lord became. (ln. 109-12)

Eventually, the created man takes dominion over the animals, corralling and ruling them, and finally brutally killing them. This section can be interpreted as Philip's commentary on monarchal politics. But at the heart of this domination over the animal realm is language, both the ability to use it and the ability for vocalized language to be heard and understood. By giving up their language, the animals gave up knowledge as well. The last stanza frames the poem with a final reference to language, as the speaker Philisides describes the composition of the poem.

> Thus did I sing and pipe eight sullen hours
> To sheep whom love, not knowledge made to hear. (ln. 161-2)

The sheep may feel something towards their shepherd, but they can neither know the reason behind it nor express it because, according to the poem, they no longer have the language that once gave them this ability. The horse and mule in Psalm 32 are also "wholly devoid of reason's rule." However, unlike the friendly sheep in the *Arcadia*, these animals are set to do "mischief" to humans. It becomes imperative that man then control and conquer them. While this view of an anthropocentric dominion over a fallen and mischief-wielding world may be clear in Psalm 32, in Philip's Psalm 38 the speaker's divinely-charged dominion slips as he or she begins to question his or her humanity.

The penitent's human enemies are the ones with the power to reason, who are "speaking evil, thinking deceit" (ln. 36). When the speaker is in the othered, animal state, he or she cannot only hear the enemies' speech, but can understand it as well. This idea suggests movement away from the reformed doctrine of a malevolent Nature to a more neutral Aristotelian form of Nature. This inverted human-animal relationship creates a displacement of the speaker's guilt: by escaping humanness and entering into an animal state, he or she is able to slip out of the intense corporeal examination and anatomization that opens the psalm. This collapsing of "other" into human points up the larger philosophical questions about animals and humans that bubble in and through these penitential psalmic paraphrases. As the speaker progresses through cycles of guilt, repentance, and spiritual restoration, the natural world often functions as an integral space needed to allow for the speaker's introspection, self-identification, and spiritual development. These two psalms, particularly 38, prefigure the philosophical underpinnings that would eventually lead Descartes to question the machinations of the animal mind and their relation to man in the later seventeenth century. In this inverted anthropomorphic relationship of

Psalm 38, Philip's applications of natural theology and philosophy show a prescient and surprisingly advanced anticipation of the change from the reformed view of animal consumption and dominion to the later philosophical movement towards conservation and valuing of animals. Still, these psalms also highlight the permeability of the pre-Cartesian worldview, as the lines between human and animal are still quite fluid.

Philip only translated the first three of the seven Penitential Psalms, leaving Mary to complete the remaining four when she finished the Psalter. At first glance, these four seem to begin with a different, perhaps more hopeful method of focusing on the penitential body, but they still struggle under the specter of the dead, wounded, diseased, and partitioned body featured in the previous three psalms. As examined in Chapter Three, Anne Lock's sonnet sequence based on Psalm 51 is intensely corporeal, focusing on the medical effects of sin and the connections between the soul and the body. Unlike Lock's *Meditation*, which Mary used as a resource when she was composing her own poetic paraphrase of Psalm 51, Mary's Psalm 51 consistently roots references to the speaker's body in the spiritual realm. And unlike Philip's psalms, which revel in their corporeality, Mary's references to the body are more often linked metaphorically to the penitent's soul. In the second stanza, the speaker recognizes "my filthy fault, my faulty filthiness" which is shown "to my soul's eye" (ln. 9-10) rather than seen on the penitent's body. The fourth stanza opens with a reference to disease, but by the third line, the speaker has explicitly spiritualized this comparison.

> Then as thyself to lepers hast assigned,
> With hyssop, Lord, thy hyssop, purge me so:
> And that shall cleanse the lepry of my mind. (ln. 22-24)

Mary has not purged her psalm of all references to the sinner's body. Shortly after these lines, the partitioned body appears again, but unlike the previous psalms these parts are at first connected to mercy and forgiveness.

> So shall my whiteness scorn the whitest snow.
> To ear and heart send sounds and thoughts of gladness,
> That bruisèd bones may dance away their sadness. (ln. 26-28)

In spite of this first connection to goodness, the last line produces a rather macabre image: the "bruisèd bones" are acting autonomously. Philip's previous images of the anatomized body of the penitent have been carried into Mary's Penitentials as well. The penitent doesn't dance and rejoice, his or her disassembled body does.

The next stanza anatomizes God as well as the penitent, imaging God as the dissecting and healing physician.

> Thy ill-pleased eye from my misdeeds avert;
> Cancel the registers my sins contain:
> Create in me a pure, clean, spotless heart. (ln. 29-31)

As in Psalm 31, the penitent turns outward in an effort to show others the right path. Earlier, Mary had spiritualized references to the penitent's body, here she connects the anatomized body of the wayward fellow sinner and the sinner's own autoblazoned body with the results of sin.

> So I to them a guiding hand will be,
> Whose faulty feet have wandered from thy way,

> And, turn'd from sin, will make return to thee,
> Whom, turn'd from thee, sin erst had turn'd astray.
> O God, God of my health, O do away
> My bloody crime: so shall my tongue be raised
> To praise thy truth, enough cannot be praised. (ln. 36-41)

It is through the waywardness of others' "faulty feet" that the penitent's "guiding hand" is offered. As mentioned earlier, line thirty-nine is a taken from Lock's *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*. And yet, Mary's addition to this line of "O do away / My bloody crime" turns the poem in a decidedly more corporeal direction. By including the colon in the middle of the line, Mary underlines the phrase "my bloody crime," making the violence of the speaker's destructive sin the focus of the stanza, and effectively shifting the focus of the psalm from God's mercy to the "bloody crime." It is only in the bloody crime that the raised tongue is given access to speech and praise.

It is in the last stanza that Mary's *Miserere* evidences tension between the human penitent and his or her relationship to the animal world. The stanza struggles again with both the problematic place of animals for the reformed Christian and the overriding anthropocentric paradigm of the sixteenth century. As discussed in Chapter One, this passage presented a particularly problematic situation for those in the increasingly reformed religious culture in England. The Old Testament sacrificial system made clear that animals, particularly the right kind of animals, drew the dividing line between true and false religion. The dilemma arose with the positioning and importance of this sacrificial system in the Old Testament. For the Christian Christ's death was to be the one salvific "offering" made. The increasingly iconoclastic reforming strain of the late sixteenth century could not negate the importance of the scripture, and yet it also had to deal with the sections of the Bible, that place a Divine blessing on the

right kind of animal sacrifice. The Geneva Bible commentary evidences this tension in its explanation for the last verse: "That is, just & lawful, applied to theire right end, with the exercise of faith & repentance."

The last section in Mary's paraphrase touches on some of that tension: animals are to be used for "consumption," providing a form of spiritual cleansing through destruction of their bodies. Unlike Philip's psalms, which focus primarily on man's dominion over animals, in this section they are to be utilized for a *communal* purpose in positioning the city of Jerusalem as righteous, instead of using animals to reveal individual spirituality. The final stanza reads:

> But with thy favour build up Salem's wall,
> And still in peace maintain that peaceful place;
> Then shalt thou turn a well-accepted face
> To sacred fires, with offer'd gifts perfumèd:
> Till even whole calves on altars be consumèd. (ln. 53-56)

The line between human and animal has now been restored after its perforation in Psalm 38. The God represented in this paraphrase will turn a "well-accepted face . . . [towards] sacred fires" in a sign of approval for the people of Israel. Through the consumption of "whole calves" the redemption of the entire people group is achieved. These lines reveal the anthropocentric mindset of the biblical Book of Psalms, but also point to the problematic place of animals in sixteenth-century reformed piety. In an effort to avoid the trappings of outward religion seen in Catholicism, Foxe implied that sacrifices are still necessary for true religion and that humans may stand in place of the approved animals. Mary, however, turns her focus on the communal instead of the individual, corporeal penitential self. Perhaps this change is due to the decades already passed

between Mary's time as an author in the 1590's and Foxe's account of burning humans in the 1560's. Foxe had to distinguish his martyrs from their persecutors; Mary turns her attention to the strengthening of "Salem's walls." And yet, this reinforced corporate gathering is still unrealized. The speaker holds out hope that God "shalt . . . turn" his favour on "offer'd gifts" blessing the future Salem, but the speaker remains anchored in the present.

For all of Psalm 51's apparent hopefulness in a communal future, Mary's Psalm 102 returns to corporeal partitioning and the penitent's autoblazoning. However, Mary goes one step further than Philip's dismembered penitent. Here the penitent describes utter destruction in the second stanza and the first lines of the third.

> My days as smoke are past:
> My bones as flaming fuel waste.
> Mown down in me (alas)
> With scythe of sharpest pain.
> My heart is withered like the wounded grass,
> My stomach doth all food disdain. (ln. 7-12)

The image of "bones as flaming fuel" is a striking reference to the closing lines of Psalm 51. It seems that the penitent has become a sacrificial calf. When these poems are read in a grouping as the Penitential Psalms, the penitent has left the hopeful apex of Psalm 51 and plunges into self-annihilation in this fifth psalm. The speaker seems utterly doomed, his or her stomach rebels because of his or her troubles, causing the body to be emaciated and worn. While examining his or her bones, again turning to the structural elements of the corporeal, the penitent finds finding them not just weakened, but on the brink of collapse. Because of sinfulness, the penitent's personal conception of his or her body is

reduced to images of weakness and limpness. Feeling this shortened mortality, the penitent compares him or herself to three different images of brevity in the natural world. The bones are like burnt up embers and ash. Then the penitent's heart is compared to "wounded grass" which is more damaged then the grass cut down by the scythe; instead his or her heart has been bruised and haphazardly damaged by the results of sin. Throughout these psalms, the penitent has fluctuated between human and animal identities passing between whole and dismembered bodies. Here the penitent has finally assumed a vegetable identity. Also, in line thirty-nine again compares him or herself to dried, harvested hay. The penitent has ceased to even identify him or herself with sentient beings. The penitent focuses on mortality throughout this psalm only to return to humanity is to dismember him or herself once again. The stomach, the most fleshy and corporeal part of the penitent mentioned in this stanza, is also the only part that still seems connected to the rational, as it chooses not to partake in food given to it.

As with the previous Penitentials 32 and 51, there is a shift in the middle of the poem. Line forty-two contains the shift in this psalm; however, unlike the previous poems, this shift is not connected to the forgiveness of the penitent. In Psalms 32 and 51, the penitent begins to focus on other wayward sinners preparing to teach them God's way. He or she is only able to do this though after receiving forgiveness. In Psalm 102 this assurance never comes. Instead, after comparing his or her mortality to God's eternity in stanza seven, the penitent speaker abruptly shifts to discuss the welfare of Jerusalem:

> And I as hay am dried,
> While yet in steadfast sea
> Eternal thou eternally dost bide,

Thy memory no years can fret.

Oh, then at length arise;
On Zion cast thy mercy's eyes.
Now is the time that thou
To mercy shouldst incline
Concerning her: O Lord, the time is now. (ln. 39-47)

The penitent seems to have given up arguing his or her own case; instead, in a similar move to Psalm 51, the penitent concerns him or herself with the state of Zion. In the next stanza, Philip's body comes to the forefront as Mary once again echoes his *Arcadia* as the penitent reminds God of Zion's dead state.

Thy servants wait the day,
When she, who like a carcass lay
Stretched forth in ruin's bier,
Shall so arise and live,
That nations all Jehovah's name shall fear,
All kings to thee shall glory give. (ln. 49-54)

The image of Zion lying on a funeral bier "like a carcass" echoes Philip's *Arcadia*. The ending of Arcadia focuses on the supposed death and resurrection of the foolish Duke Basilius. Basilius drank what he believed to be a love potion, but instead it put him in a deep sleep, which made him appear dead. He was stretched out on a table, when during the trial for his murder, he suddenly woke up. "Those that were next the duke's body might hear . . . a great voice of groaning . . . they might perfectly perceive the body stir, then some began to fear spirits, some to look for a miracle."[523]

[523] Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, 359.

In Mary's paraphrase, the dead Zion may echo Philip's King Basilius, but unlike *Arcadia*'s comedic finish of happiness and marriages, the penitent's Zion is dead. The body of Zion is frozen in the temporal space of the poem, awaiting some future point when God may choose to resurrect this dead body.

The final two paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms return to this focus on the dead or wounded body. The anatomized penitential body is no longer the central point, but instead it is the dead and decaying corpse. This can even be seen in the Latin subtitles that appear in the Sidney Psalter. Psalm 130 is labeled as the *De Profundis* from the first words of the Vulgate translation. *De profundis*, meaning "out of the depths," is certainly the way Mary starts this paraphrase:

> From depth of grief
> Where drowned I lie,
> Lord for relief
> To thee I cry:
> My earnest, vehement, crying, praying,
> Grant quick, attentive hearing, weighing. (ln. 1-6)

The penitent is no longer anatomizing his or her body, but is instead a corpse, drowned in the depths. The last two stanzas with their sharp staccato adjectives serve to point up the dire state of the penitent. The penitent can no longer argue long rhetorical reasons about his or her need for God's rescue. No longer looking at Zion on a funeral bier, the penitent is now the one who is need of resurrection, and begs that the Lord hear his or her word quickly.

The last Penitential Psalm, Psalm 143, focuses on the sinner's corpse and the anatomized self.

> Oh rather look with ruth upon my woes,

Whom ruthless foes
With long pursuit have chasèd,
and chased at length have caught,
And caught, in tomb have placèd
With dead men out of thought.
Aye me! What now is left me? (ln. 11-17)

In the *Arcadia*, King Basilius is found by his wife, insensible after drinking the sleeping draft. Gynecia believes she has murdered her husband by bringing this unknown drink to the cave and allowing him to drink it. She promptly confesses to killing him. At the end of her trial, the judge delivers her sentence. She is to be kept in prison,

> and there kept alive until the day of her husband's burial; at which time she should be buried quick in the same tomb with him, that so his murder might be a murder to herself, and she forced to keep company with the body from which she had made so detestable a severance.[524]

Gynecia, like the penitent in Psalm 143, is to be punished for sin by being buried alive. Both Gynecia and the penitent are doomed to rot away with the corpses around them, slowly becoming one of them as payment for sin. The penitent speaker realizes this doom saying he or she has been placed "with dead men out of thought." This line's ambiguity is troubling as it is unclear if the penitent is merely beyond the thoughts of enemies or if his or her sins have buried the penitent far beyond even God's thoughts. The penitent remains in a darkened, tomb-like state for the next three stanzas. Crying out to God, the penitent returns again to autoblazoning in order to emphasise his or her weakness through an appeal for God's help.

[524] Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, 331.

So hand and heart conspiring
I lift, no less desiring
Thy grace I may obtain,
Than drought desireth rain. (ln. 25-29)

In spite of emphasizing both physical and emotional weakness, God does not answer the penitent. The penitent remains in "my cave, my closet" begging God "from these troubles save me." The penitent seems doomed to remain broken apart and buried away in sin.

When Gynecia discovers her husband, whom she believes to be dead, she cries, "Was this the folding in my arms promised: that I should fold nothing but a dead body?"[525] Instead of a promised love potion, she now holds (what she believes is) a corpse. Perhaps here, we might return to the Sidney print, and Simon van de Passe's engraving of Mary Sidney. Mary sits, appearing noble and serene. Yet, clasped in her hand is a pieced together and broken textual creation encased in the words of "David's Psalmes." For Mary, the Psalter was a source of familial and literary pride. And yet, this becomes incoherent when we consider the Sidnean Penitential Psalms within the framework of Mary's prefatory poems. These poems enfold Philip's body into the Psalter, incorporating his wounded and bleeding corpse into Mary's "bleeding veins of never dying love." The Penitential Psalms, both Philip's first three and Mary's final four present a penitential body written through a poetics of dissection, seen as the penitent practices an examination of self-anatomization caused by his or her sin. And yet, paradoxically, these weaknesses are also the way that the penitent gains access to God's attention. Eventually, in this partitioning, the penitent looses sight of

[525] Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, 243.

his or her humanity and begins to slip into the animal realm. In the end, the entire corpus is abandoned to the grave. Autoblazoning, dead and decaying bodies, and an inversion of humanity found in the Penitential Psalms, all undermine the social, religious, and familial respectability presented in Mary's portrait. The text is presented as a devotional work of art, produced by nobility. And yet, the Penitential Psalms within the text evidence a troubling and decaying view of the penitential body that ultimately challenges the veneer of the projected respectability of the work and its authors.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this thesis, I examined Foxe's account of Thomas Sommers, a man who was punished for circulating outlawed books, one of which was likely an English translation of the Penitential Psalms. Foxe's account of Sommers connected scriptural texts to a very real and corporeal world filled with clothed bodies and punitive physical acts. I have argued that the Penitential Psalms were at the center of early modern religious and cultural change in the sixteenth century, often engendering experimental literary forms and developments in lyrical expression.

The Penitentials had been associated for centuries with the sacrament of penance. And, in spite of the oscillating and often violent religious trends of the sixteenth century, these Psalms—and thus, authors' reinterpretations of them—continued to carry with them the reminders of the physicality of the sacrament. The four texts that this thesis has focused upon have shown the various ways the remnants of this corporeality played out. The use and recounting of Psalm 51 in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* provides insight into the Protestant memorialization of bodies burned and destroyed. Furthermore, the themes present in the central Penitential permeate Foxe's entire work, structuring his title page and revealing points of concern for the reformed movement throughout the period. Sir Thomas Wyatt's *A Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms* presents a male body within a reworking of Aretino's narrative framework for the Penitentials. Here the body is often connected to spiritual, at times even erotic, communion with the Divine. Additionally, my examination of *A Paraphrase* probed the messages present both in the text and in contemporary, visual depictions of David's errant, penetrating gaze arguing that these depicted

moments of ocularity produce further insight into the process of contrition and confession. Anne Vaughan Lock's *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* points out connections between a troubled conscience and the correct path to healing the sin-sick soul. In spite of the often vehement anti-sacramentalism present in the paratext of the dedicatory epistle, the Penitential Psalm and its attending sacramental connections provided Lock with a vehicle for communicating an innovative recreation of both a literary form and the traditional sacrament of penance. Finally, Philip and Mary Sidney's Psalter though intended as a memorial of familial and authorial pride, presents a penitent who is broken and partitioned, suggesting that as the biblical texts' connections to the traditional penitential process began to fade, so to did conventional depictions of the penitent.

As the sixteenth century came to an end, the corporeal connections linking the Penitential Psalms to the sacrament of penance began to fade as the English laity began to loose touch with traditional religious practices. However, the themes of contrition, confession, and repentance remained embedded in these texts. As John Hayward wrote in his meditation on the Penitential Psalms, they "lively describe, both the forme and the force of true repentance."[526] They would continue to be published as a group within texts for spiritual education, and they remained a touchstone for literary and devotional texts well into the seventeenth century.[527] John Donne preached a cycle of sermons on the Penitential Psalms. And it was in the seventeenth century that the previously

[526] John Hayward, *Davids Teares* (London: John Bill, 1622), A1^{r-v}. Hayward seems to have begun publishing devotional writings in connection to his social and political troubles, including this text, see John J. Manning, 'Hayward, Sir John (1564?–1627)', *DNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12794, accessed 29 Jan 2013]

[527] Even a staunchly protestant Church of Scotland children's catechism includes the Penitential Psalms: *The Mother and Child: a short catechism or briefe summe of religion*, ed. John Craig (London: H. Lownes, 1611).

mentioned English translations of Pietro Aretino's prose adaptation and Petrarch's poetic versions were translated into English and then published.[528]

The authors examined in this thesis have used the psalms to produce their own corporeal, textual creations, which sometimes burn with lust or are consumed by an executioner's fire; which heal after partaking of the appropriate medication or practice self-destruction by exploring their own bodily insides. Much like Thomas Sommers' own complicated act of "penaunce" in creating a ruff of book pages to display on his body, these texts too find inspiration for new creative activity in the strains from both the biblical text and the medieval practice of penance that come together in the complicated selection known as the Penitential Psalms.

[528]John Donne, *LXXX sermons preached by that learned and reverend divine, John Donne* (London: Miles Fisher, 1640). Pietro Aretino, *Paraphrase upon the seaven pententiall psalmes*, trans. John Hawkins (Douai: G. Pinchon, 1635). George Chapman, *Petrarchs seven penitentiall Psalms, paraphrastically translated.* (London: Matthew Selman, 1612).

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